

Annals of Wyoming

Wyoming
Camp on Green creek
June 15th 1876

My Dear Wife

This is the last day we
s. About 150 Crow and 1000 cranes con
last evening. We are off the evening or to
morning, the crows brought the news that
the Bull is about 80 miles from here where
Tongue River enters in to Yellow Stone Riv
Defeat is going to be wrought with four
thousand one hundred rounds of Ammunition for
it will be a hard ride and if God only give
my health to stand the ride and if Lethargy Bull
has a stand to go shall not be lost under it
I find out, Gibbon is camped opposite the ~~Yellow~~
River and can cross the Yellow Stone at a ~~convenient~~
high water, but can look under setting Bulls
p, now dearest Ed bless you and the children
bless you all. I think we will be home soon
we are expected. You ever very truly
Spring 1973

Spring 1973

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ANNALS OF WYOMING

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The text of the G. L. Luhn letter shown on the cover is included in the article, "The Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition of 1876 As Seen Through the Letters of Captain Gerhard Luke Luhn," published in this issue. (Photo courtesy Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming).

The Origins and Early Development of Dude Ranching in Wyoming

By

CHARLES G. ROUNDY

The dude ranch is the single most unique contribution of the Rocky Mountain West to the ever-growing national vacation industry. Drawing upon nineteenth century origins and favored by conditions at the turn of the century, dude ranching gained its identity and developed into a minor industry in Wyoming and Montana during the first three decades of this century. For a few brief years it was the principal tourist activity of those two states, and from Wyoming and Montana it spread to nearly a dozen other states, including even Florida.

In Wyoming and Montana the infant industry of dude ranching reached the peak of its prosperity in the late 1920s, before it had really matured as an industry. After 1929 a series of outside, uncontrollable, adverse factors and an internal resistance to change combined to retard further expansion of the industry, and, in time, to bring about a gradual decline of dude ranching. The result is that dude ranching, once the top vacation-related activity in Wyoming and Montana, has been relegated to a position of economic insignificance in the broad-based tourist industry of the 1970s.¹ Even so, the story of how dude ranching came into being and grew to prominence there in the early decades of this century is an important chapter in the regional and national history of the vacation industry.² The principal focus of what follows will be upon

1. Since 1960 there have been three studies conducted relative to Wyoming's out-of-state travelers, and none of the three have given more than passing attention to the role of dude ranching in what has become Wyoming's third-ranking industry, tourism. See Richard E. Lund, *A Study of Wyoming's Out-Of-State Highway Travelers*, (Laramie: University of Wyoming's Division of Business and Economic Research, 1961); and Clynn Phillips and Dwight M. Blood, *Outdoor Recreation Participation By Out-of-State Visitors in Wyoming*, Volume II of *Outdoor Recreation in Wyoming*, (Laramie: University of Wyoming's Division of Business and Economic Research, March, 1969).

2. This article was originally prepared for presentation at Colorado State

Wyoming, although it should be stressed that a very similar and interrelated trend of development was unfolding in Montana at the same time.³

Before considering the origins and early development of Wyoming dude ranching, it will first prove useful to define the terms "dude," "dude ranch," and "dude wrangler." Struthers Burt, a pioneer dude wrangler and author in the Jackson Hole country, defined a dude as simply "someone, usually a person not resident in the country, who hires someone else to guide him or cook for him, or who pays money to stay on a ranch."⁴ There has been considerable misunderstanding and many bruised feelings over the use of the word dude, much of this arising out of the habit of old-time westerners to preface the noun "dude" with the adjective "damned." To salve the bruised feelings of some dudes, several ranches adopted the label "guest" as an alternative, although generally the guests considered themselves as dudes, despite all the good natured kidding. As Struthers Burt charitably concluded his musings upon dudes, "To be a dude is a perfectly honest avocation."⁵

A dude ranch was defined in 1933 in the *Dude Ranch Magazine*, the official publication of the Dude Ranchers' Association, as follows:

They are ranches which take paying guests; They are a direct evolution of the old cattle ranches, and many of them are now operated in both capacities. Composed of little groups of cabins, corrals, and bunk houses, all of which are familiar to the native westerner of the cattle country, they are rustic and unique and afford unequalled opportunities for enjoyment of the outdoors under conditions of freedom and naturalness. The majority of these ranches are in Wyoming and Montana.⁶

While this in-house definition seems to stress origins from early cattle ranches of the region, the Dude Ranchers' Association has long accepted into full membership the so-called "mountain ranch-

University's summer Western History Conference, August 10-12, 1972, and as such only sketches the outlines of the development of dude ranching in Wyoming prior to 1929, pointing the direction, hopefully, to additional research.

3. To some extent, the Wyoming story cannot be told without inclusion of the Montana development during the same era. On the other hand, as will be seen, Wyoming was somewhat unique as a tourist draw nationally, and many of the outstanding early dude ranchers were Wyomingites. Since 1926, when it was founded, the Dude Ranchers' Association has been essentially a Wyoming-Montana organization, which has drawn dude ranchers in the two states closer together than was the case previously.

4. M. Struthers Burt, *The Diary of a Dude Wrangler*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), p. 60.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

6. Item in *Dude Rancher Magazine*, March, 1933, p. 6.

es," located where stock raising has never been feasible.⁷ Generally at mountain ranches, horses and pack mules, taken up in the summer, have been the only livestock. While only a few within the dude ranching fraternity have been opposed to considering mountain ranches, taking summer guests, as bona fide dude ranches, there has been general agreement that mountain lodges catering strictly to hunters in the fall should not be considered as dude ranches.

Dude ranches have a number of characteristics that distinguish them from other types of tourist accommodations. They have never catered to transient, overnight guests. All guests have come by reservation only, generally after an exchange of references, and usually for a lengthy stay. While at a dude ranch, a guest has always been considered as a friend visiting his western host. Central to all true dude ranches has been an emphasis upon leisurely western living and simple horse-oriented activities.⁸

A dude wrangler is the western host who operates a dude ranch and takes responsibility for the welfare and entertainment of his visiting dudes. Dude wrangling has not always been considered as an honorable western profession, and in the early years many who engaged in it preferred to be called simply ranchers. With the publication of Caroline Lockhart's *The Dude Wrangler* in 1921 and Struthers Burt's *Diary of A Dude Wrangler* three years later, the term began to gain acceptance in the western language.⁹ And as the growth of dude ranching began to have a demonstrated effect upon the local economies of the various dude ranch towns, the profession came to be regarded as even respectable.

Twentieth century dude ranching in Wyoming drew upon diverse tourism origins that can be traced back to pre-territorial Wyoming. Almost as soon as white men began to travel and engage in fur trapping and trading activities in Wyoming, there were tourists, usually wealthy, young, European adventurers, who wished to

7. An often printed explanation by the Dude Ranchers' Association states that "there are basically two types of western dude ranches, with many ranches falling into both types." One is the working ranch, at which part of the operation is devoted to raising livestock and agricultural crops; the other is the mountain ranch, "designed primarily to care for guests where horses are often the only livestock." Here quoted from *Dude Rancher Magazine*, Spring, 1969, p. 26.

8. Over the years many of the dude ranches have relaxed their insistence on some of these points, whereas in the view of some they are no longer dude ranches, but instead are considered open to "tourism." Old-time dude ranchers make a sharp distinction between their trade and tourism. However, before tourism came to mean what it has since 1945, many of the dude ranches used the word in their literature. For example, see Custer Trail Ranch brochures, Eaton Ranch Collection, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

9. Caroline Lockhart, *The Dude Wrangler*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921).

travel along with the mountain men. In a sense, Bill Sublette was probably the first dude wrangler in Wyoming, and a Captain William Drummond Stewart, from one of the old noble families of Scotland, the first dude.¹⁰ Stewart was fascinated with the lonely, adventurous life of the mountain men of the Rockies, and beginning in 1833 he made several trips with Sublette and his associate Robert Campbell to the fur bearing regions of Wyoming. For the right to tag along with the party, Stewart paid Bill Sublette \$500 for that first trek westward in 1833.¹¹

Ten years later, after the fur industry's bonanza years had passed and after an absence of five years, Stewart made a sentimental return to Wyoming, this time bringing with him what has been labeled the first dude party to visit the region. In a mutual arrangement that foreshadowed later dude ranching partnerships, Stewart spent the winter and spring of 1843 traveling to eastern cities, recruiting "gentlemen sportsmen" willing to pay to join a party for summer adventure in Wyoming.¹² Sublette, meanwhile, gathered and wintered the necessary horses and mules at his ranch near St. Louis and worked at putting together a working party of horsemen, muleteers, camp servants and hunters. That summer a party of 20 dudes and 30 workers spent four months crossing the Great American Desert, hunting in the Wind River Mountains, visiting the Green River fur rendezvous, and returning to St. Louis. The entire trip held no purpose other than to provide a pleasurable experience for the party of gentlemen sportsmen, and can truly be called the first dude party to visit Wyoming.¹³

From the late 1830s through the 1850s, numerous tourists visited Wyoming, despite its remoteness from any easy means of transportation. Often these travelers would stay for a spell at the fur industry-owned Fort Laramie, hiring guides and hunters and purchasing provisions, prior to heading out across Wyoming. In 1846 author Francis Parkman visited the post, hired the services of famed hunter Henry Chatillon, and then spent several months hunting and seeking adventure in Wyoming's wilderness.¹⁴ Prince Paul of Wurtemberg, a veteran of many journeys in America dating

10. See Mae Reed Porter and Odessa Davenport, *Scotsman in Buckskin: Sir William Drummond Stewart and the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade*, (New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1963); and John E. Sunder, *Bill Sublette, Mountain Man*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959).

11. Porter and Davenport, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 201-257; Sunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-216.

13. Lola Homsher, *Outline of Wyoming History*, (Laramie: University of Wyoming's Division of Business and Economic Research, 1965), p. 10. The significance here is not the brief mention of the Stewart-Sublette expedition in Homsher's pamphlet, but the reference to this party by a Wyoming historian as "the first group of dudes" in the state.

14. C. G. Coutant, *History of Wyoming*, (Laramie: Chaplin, Spafford & Mathison, Printers, 1899), pp. 304-306.

from 1823, visited Fort Laramie in the company of two inexperienced adventure seekers. It would be unfair to label Prince Paul a dude, but certainly his two companions fall into that category.¹⁵

Perhaps the most publicized pre-territorial tourist to visit Wyoming was Sir George Gore, a wealthy Irish nobleman who journeyed overland from St. Louis in the spring of 1854, engaged the services of Jim Bridger to guide his hunting party, and spent the next two years trophy hunting in Wyoming and the surrounding area.¹⁶ These are only a few of the better known tourists to visit Wyoming during this period, the ones who left a record of their travels. There are numerous obscure references to other hunting parties and adventurers in Wyoming at the time. And to the degree that these travelers were dependent upon others in the region for lodging, horses, and provisions, they can be considered as precursors of the twentieth century dude.

Territorial status came to Wyoming in 1868 on the rails of the Union Pacific Railroad, and soon thereafter came growing numbers of adventure seeking travelers, generally Europeans. Robert G. Athearn's book *Westward The Briton* is a fascinating compilation of the impressions of British travelers in the Far West during the last third of the nineteenth century, and contains further testimony that traveling in the West was a favorite pastime of wealthy young Europeans, particularly the British.¹⁷ Many of these travelers, who could now reach Wyoming with ease by rail, were attracted to the newly designated (in 1872) Yellowstone National Park and the fabled hunting grounds of Jackson Hole in northwestern Wyoming. Also this region was soon attracting the attention of government officials interested in developing the tourist potential of the region. In 1881 Wyoming's territorial governor, John W. Hoyt, traveled through the Yellowstone region to dramatize his efforts to obtain a "good highway" from the Union Pacific line to Yellowstone Park.¹⁸ Two years later President Chester A. Arthur traveled up the Wind River valley, across into Jackson Hole, and up through

15. Translations of the so-called "Bauser Summaries" of the Prince Paul of Wurtemberg diaries are included in the Grace Raymond Hebard Collection, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie. See particularly "An Account of Adventures in The Great American Desert" and "A Brief Account Concerning the Exploration of the Region About Fort Laramie, the Laramie Peak, the Black Hills, the Wind River Mountains, Independence Rock, South Pass, and Parts of the Rocky Mountains," as translated by Professor L. C. Butscher.

16. Forbes Parkhill, *The Wildest of the West*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951), pp. 129-140; Coutant, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-328.

17. Robert G. Athearn, *Westward The Briton*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953).

18. T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), pp. 136-138.

Yellowstone Park on a business-pleasure journey designed to explore this new "national playground."¹⁹

Wealthy Europeans and easterners were hunting in Jackson Hole prior to settlement there in 1884. As soon as the valley was settled, homesteaders found a ready demand for lodging, outfitting, and guiding during the best hunting seasons. Soon the families of these early hunters were visiting the valley, staying as paying guests in some of the homestead cottages, and enjoying the inspiring beauty of the Grand Teton Mountains.²⁰ This practice of homesteaders to take in paying summer and fall guests was not unique in Jackson Hole. Early in the 1890s a similar arrangement was recognizable in the Cody area. Jim McLaughlin's homesteaded Home Valley Ranch at the head of the Southfork of the Shoshone River became the best known visiting place near Cody. It was to Jim McLaughlin's homestead that 21-year-old I. H. "Larry" Larom came as a dude in June, 1910. Within a few years Larom and a partner had obtained the homestead and in a few years turned it into the best known dude ranch in the West.²¹

Before the turn of the century there were a few attempts to convert the ever-present demand for vacation accommodations into a regular business.²² The most successful of these projects was that of William S. "Billy" Wells, who came to Wyoming from Colorado in 1897. Wells constructed the Gros Ventre Lodge on Tosi Creek, east of the Green River country in the Wind River Mountains, and between 1897 and 1906 operated it as a well-known hunting lodge. Although it was essentially a hunting lodge, some authors have referred to the Gros Ventre Lodge as the first dude ranch in Wyoming.²³

Despite later distinctions, it should be clear that these early homesteads taking guests and mountain hunting lodges were direct

19. Josephine C. Fabian, *The Jackson's Hole Story*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1963), pp. ix-xiii.

20. Jackson Hole's resident historian, Mrs. Elizabeth Hayden, has traced the origins of dude ranching in that region back to these early visits by hunters and their families to the early homesteaders' cottages in the valley. Letter. Mrs. Elizabeth Hayden to author, April 21, 1972, in author's files; Mrs. Hayden, private interview, Jackson, Wyoming, May 19, 1972.

21. I. H. "Larry" Larom, private interview, Valley Ranch, Valley, Wyoming, May 21, 1972.

22. One such attempt was the elaborate hunting lodge, Merymere, constructed in the early 1890s on the north end of Jackson Lake by Ray Hamilton and John Sargent. See David J. Saylor, *Jackson Hole, Wyoming: In the Shadow of the Tetons*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970). This partnership was dissolved under mysterious circumstances, a story that has become part of the legend of Jackson Hole. For a thinly disguised and perhaps unhistorical account of the tale, see Burt's *Diary Of A Dude Wrangler*, pp. 266-277.

23. Dorothy Martz, "Oldest Dude Ranch Is Now Deserted," a historical feature article in the *Casper Star-Tribune*, April 27, 1968.

forerunners of the twentieth century mountain dude ranch. The distinction that later dude ranchers drew between mountain ranches and hunting lodges has always been blurred by the fact that a good number of dude ranchers have historically taken hunters and done outfitting in the fall, using the summer dude ranch as the fall hunting lodge. The one clear distinction has been that activities of a hunting lodge have differed from the family, horse-oriented activities at a dude ranch.

The second basic ancestral line of the twentieth century Wyoming dude ranch was the working stock ranch, usually a cattle ranch. Wyoming's cattle industry, like her earlier fur industry, was characterized by a meteoric rise and a rapid decline, all within the decade of 1878 to 1888.²⁴ Unlike the fur industry, however, the cattle bonanza left the residue of a healthy, fairly stable economic activity behind in Wyoming.

Many of Wyoming's cattle ranches were English owned and managed.²⁵ These became favorite visiting places for the large numbers of traveling countrymen of the same social standing. The TJ Ranch, north of Gillette, and center of the early Bennett-Hamilton-Moncreiffe cattle holdings, was a favorite summer place for the owners, families, friends, and travelers, although in the winters the ranch was practically deserted as nearly everyone returned to England.²⁶ Moreton Frewen's ranch became a haven for traveling Englishmen.²⁷ While there is little evidence to show that these ranches had any formalized system for charging visitors, it is only logical to assume that some means of sharing of expenses existed.

Two English owned ranches on the Laramie Plains contributed to the origins of dude ranching. In the early 1880s both Richard Brackenbury's ranch near Medicine Bow, and the Gresley-Robbins ranch near Centennial were taking English boys as "apprentices" or "learners" in the stock raising business.²⁸ Capitalizing upon the romantic attraction of a Wyoming cattle ranch that swept through upper segments of British society in the 1880s, these ranches charged up to \$500 a year for each boy who came to learn and work.²⁹ One of the earliest "learners" to visit the Gresley-Robbins ranch was young, Oxford-educated, Clement "Ben" Bengough. He so liked life in Wyoming that he gave up a castle and a large

24. Lewis L. Gould, *Wyoming: A Political History, 1868-1896*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 63-69.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

26. Manuscript Files, "Ranch-TJ," Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

27. Athearn, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

28. R. H. Burns, A. S. Gillespie, W. G. Richardson, *Wyoming's Pioneer Ranches*, (Laramie: Top-Of-The-World Press, 1965), pp. 636-637, 238-248.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 244.

inheritance for life in a log cabin on the Laramie Plains. In later life he was honored with the title, "the first dude on the Laramie Plains."³⁰

(Another early dude to visit Wyoming was Owen Wister, who at age 25 ventured west of Pennsylvania for the first time in 1885.³¹ In the summer of that year Wister and other tourists spent several weeks at Major Frank Wolcott's VR Ranch on Deer Creek, not far from the present site of Glenrock.³² Commenting upon his accommodations, Wister wrote into his diary on July 7, 1885: "I sleep out in a tent and take a bath every morning in Deer Creek."³³ Eleven days later he recorded that bed bugs had entered his tent, the result of a visit by some of the cowboys of the ranch.³⁴ That summer Major Wolcott took time out from the cattle business to organize and direct an elaborate hunting expedition to upper Deer Creek for the benefit of Wister and his fellow tourists.³⁵)

Wister did not record in his diary what he paid Wolcott for the visit of more than a month, nor does he even verify that he did pay. However, in view of the number of visitors at the VR that summer, the length of Wister's stay, the time and expense to Wolcott in outfitting the hunting expedition, and Wister's repeated use of the word "tourists," it is only logical to assume that these were paying guests. It will upset some to hear Major Frank Wolcott, Civil War veteran, territorial marshal, cattle baron, and leader of the Johnson County invaders, referred to as a dude wrangler.³⁶ But in the summer of 1885 it appears he was just that.

This informal type of dude ranching, which was then looked upon as just a sideline ranching activity and not as a separate economic activity, must be recognized as a direct precursor of the

30. Biographical Manuscript Files, "Clement 'Ben' Bengough," Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming Laramie.

31. See "Owen Wister's Notebook, July - August, 1885, First Trip to Wyoming," Owen Wister Collection, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Wister's entry for July 7, 1885 was published in its entirety in his daughter's book, Fanny Kemble Wister Stokes, *Owen Wister Out West: His Journals and Letters* (edited), (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), pp. 31-32.

34. For mention of the bedbugs that visited Wister's tent, one has to turn to the notebook entry for July 18, which was not selected by Mrs. Stokes in the volume.

35. Owen Wister might be labeled a perpetual dude. Coming first in 1885, over the next 35 years or so, he was at Sam Aldrich's lodge near Cody in 1910, at the JY in 1911, on his own Jackson Hole spread in 1912, at Trapper Lodge in the early 1920s. In fact, Wister is seen numerous times at various cattle and dude ranches in Wyoming during the early years of this century.

36. Biographical Manuscript Files, "Major Frank Wolcott," Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

dude ranching industry that developed in Wyoming after 1900. Thus, by the turn of the century, Wyoming had a long heritage of what might be labeled "informal tourism." By that time, however, there had arisen a series of favorable conditions for tourism, and dude ranching was to be the first formalized tourism activity in Wyoming. These favorable conditions (they might be labeled "pre-conditions" for the growth and development of Wyoming dude ranching), when considered in concert, explain the transformation of Wyoming's informal tourist activities into an infant industry of considerable social and economic significance.³⁷ Therefore, prior to considering the shape of the early development of twentieth century dude ranching in Wyoming, it will prove instructive to consider briefly these favorable conditions.

By 1900 America was facing the sobering reality that there was no longer a western frontier; that increasing industrialization and urbanization were wreaking change upon the essential character of America. There was in the air a sense of irrecoverable loss as America was being torn further and further from its pioneering-agrarian heritage.³⁸ The resulting unease in the public mind manifested itself in a variety of ways: support for a national parks movement; support for the new conservation movement under the leadership of Gifford Pinchot; the rise of a so-called "wilderness cult" that glorified all things wild; a "back to nature" surge.³⁹ The relatively unsettled American West afforded the best opportunity for a return to nature, to America as it had been.

37. There will be no attempt here to statistically prove the significance of dude ranching to Wyoming early in this century. The statistical base for such a project has simply never been compiled, nor will it likely ever be. Precious few dude ranches have retained any financial records of any type, and all too often dude income was merely considered as additional agricultural income. It was 1938 before the Dude Ranchers' Association saw the importance of gathering statistics from its membership, and even then the attempt was met with mixed results. In short, the conclusions regarding the growth and prosperity of dude ranching included in the text of this paper are derived from impressionistic sources, such as newspaper stories of the era and later interviews with participants in early dude ranching.

38. The U. S. D. I. Census Bureau first officially proclaimed the "end of the frontier" in the census of 1890. While there has been massive scholarship dealing with the impact of the "lost frontier" on America, the pioneering article was Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 address to the American Historical Association, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," reprinted in *Frontier and Section: Selected Essays of Frederick Jackson Turner*, edited by Ray A. Billington (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961) pp. 37-62.

39. The best concise treatment of the "wilderness cult" appears in Rodrick Nash's *Wilderness and the American Mind*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 141-160. Peter J. Schmitt's Ph. D. dissertation, "Call of the Wild: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America, 1900-1930," University of Minnesota, 1966, (which has recently been published) deals extensively with the "back to nature" surge that swept the urban East around the turn of the century.

Closely associated with this surge of interest in wilderness and wild things was an intense public interest and glorification of the American West. Fed by the novels of Owen Wister and his copiers, by the popularity of William F. Cody's "Wild West Show" and the rodeos that followed it, and in a few years by the horse operas on film, America was caught up in a love affair with the wild-and-woolly west that had just passed from the scene in Wyoming.⁴⁰ This combination of public interest in wilderness and all things wild, together with the romanticized view of the American West that was becoming popular, was a powerful magnet upon those Easterners who could afford to travel to the West.

Wyoming became the focus for many of those who traveled early in this century as a result of its reputation as the "national playground." Just a hundred years ago this past year Congress set aside more than two million acres of northwestern Wyoming as the nation's, indeed the world's, first national park.⁴¹ Two decades later, in 1891, Congress authorized and President Cleveland designated the nation's first national forest, again in Wyoming. The million acres set aside as the Yellowstone Forest Reserve was eventually split up into four national forests in northwestern Wyoming.⁴² In 1906 President Roosevelt proclaimed the first national monument at Devils Tower in northern Wyoming. This clustering of national recreation sites in northwestern Wyoming was to serve as a focal point for easterners traveling in the Rocky Mountain West. By 1900 Yellowstone National Park was attracting more than 18,000 tourists per year, a figure that was to mushroom to 260,000 within the next three decades.⁴³ Yellowstone National Park and the surrounding attractions also served as a focal point for the development of the dude ranch industry in Wyoming. When spotted on a map, the dude ranches of Wyoming have always shown a definite clustering pattern around the Yellowstone Park-Jackson Hole region. Obviously the reputation of a "national

40. Owen Wister's novel *The Virginian* went through 14 printings in its first year, 1902, and was the precursor of literally thousands of twentieth century "Westerns" in print and on film. In his preface Wister noted that "Time has flowed faster than my ink," noting that an era had passed before his eyes in the few short years since his first trip west to Wyoming in 1885.

41. Louis C. Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park And Its Relation To National Park Policies*, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1932). The Centennial has yet to produce a century history of the Park, although there is a broad mass of literature dealing with various aspects of Yellowstone National Park history.

42. John Ise, *United States Forest Policy*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), pp. 119-121.

43. The figure for 1900 is given in T. A. Larson's *History of Wyoming*, p. 344, and the figure for 1929 comes from a file of Yellowstone National Park press releases, Dave Jones Collection, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

playground" played an important role in the development and location of Wyoming's dude ranch industry.⁴⁴

There were additional factors contributing to the favorable climate for tourism at the turn of the century. After 1901, when the Burlington Railroad's "spur" reached Cody, all the towns in northwestern Wyoming that were to develop into dude ranch towns were within a day's travel of either the Union Pacific, the Burlington or the Northern Pacific railroads. The dudes could now easily reach the town of their choice. In the East the very urbanization and industrialization that was causing the desire to go West, to get away from the cities, had also created a growing wealthy class that could afford the time and expense of a summer vacation in the West.

Out of the interplay of all of these factors there arose a tremendous demand for vacation accommodations in northwestern Wyoming. The result was the rise of the dude ranch industry. Accommodations were provided at the old cattle ranches, left over from the bonanza days of the cattle era, and at mountain ranches, homesteaded to meet the demand. As the number of dudes coming West increased, it was a simple matter to throw up another log cabin or two each spring. As Struthers Burt phrased it, "The demand was there before the supply," and so dude ranching grew "willy-nilly."⁴⁵ During the first three decades of this century dude ranches sprang up all across northwestern Wyoming, in a sweeping arc from the Sheridan area westward over the Big Horn Mountains, across the Big Horn Basin to the Cody country, down the Southfork and up the Northfork of the Shoshone River to the eastern gates of Yellowstone Park, southward down into Jackson Hole and Dubois, and on down the Hoback River to the upper Green River Valley. Actually dude ranches were located all across the state, but the overwhelming majority of them were clustered in northwestern Wyoming.

The Eaton Ranch, nestled in the foothills of the Big Horn Mountains, west of Sheridan at Wolf, Wyoming, has often been referred to as the first real dude ranch in Wyoming. Actually, as

44. Wyoming, then, had the nation's first national monument, first national park, and first national forest. Eventually it was to have two national parks, five national forests, and a large Indian reservation, all of which attracted tourists, and most of which were located in the northwestern part of the state. As has been indicated, these national playgrounds produced a strong centralizing effect upon the state's dude ranch industry. This is easily explained in terms not only of locating in an area near tourist concentrations, but also in terms of locating near "free" recreation areas. A dude ranch at the edge of a national park or forest needs only a few acres of land for facilities and stock areas.

45. M. Struthers Burt, *Powder River, Let 'er Buck*, (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1938), p. 358.

we have seen, there is good reason to dispute this claim in that it was 1904 before Howard Eaton and his brothers moved the ranch from Medora, North Dakota, to Wyoming. By that time Wyoming already had a heritage of dude-like operations, and a series of favorable conditions were already at work in several areas bringing about early dude ranching activity. Still, it was a perfected product that Howard Eaton brought to the Sheridan area in 1904, and there is little doubt that it was extremely influential in shaping the nature of other local dude ranches.

To backtrack just for a moment, it should be pointed out that while Eaton's Ranch may or may not have been the first dude ranch in Wyoming, it certainly can claim the title of the first dude ranch in the West. To a great extent, Howard Eaton invented dude ranching and then perfected it during the two decades preceding the move to Wyoming in 1904.⁴⁶ Howard Eaton came west from Pittsburgh in 1879 and established the Custer Trail Ranch near Medora, North Dakota, where within two years he was joined by his brothers Alden and Willis. The main line of the Northern Pacific Railroad ran right through Medora, and soon the Eaton brothers found that their horse ranch was overrun with friends visiting from the East.

In 1882 one of the guests, a Bert Rumsey from Buffalo, New York, seeing what a burden he and the other guests had become, suggested to the Eaton brothers that he be allowed to pay for his lodging and the use of a horse. Reluctantly the Eaton brothers agreed to accept his money, and thus, accidentally, a new industry was born. In 1883 Howard Eaton took his first party of dudes through Yellowstone Park, and thereafter his treks through the national parks and Indian reservations of the West became models emulated by other, later, dude ranchers. By 1904 Howard Eaton realized that the spectacular scenery and the national attractions were west of the Dakota badlands, and so, in that year, he and his brothers moved to Wyoming.⁴⁷

46. Mrs. John B. Duncan, private interview, Sheridan, Wyoming, March 27, 1972; Miss Angela Buell, private interview, Sheridan, Wyoming, March 28, 1972. Both Mrs. Duncan and Miss Buell were associated with the Eaton Ranch for half a century, dating from 1916 in Mrs. Duncan's case. Each knew all three of the original Eaton brothers, and all three generations of Eatons since involved in the management of the famous dude ranch. Also, both Mrs. Duncan and Miss Buell have researched in the old records of the Eaton Ranch on the origins and early development of that particular ranch, making these two interviews by the author here particularly useful reminiscences.

47. The Eaton Ranch has yet to find its historian, and certainly there should be an account of the West's original dude ranch and the important contributions of Howard Eaton and his brothers to the developing American West around the turn of the century. There have been numerous minor historical articles concerning the Eaton Ranch, most of them appearing in

When the Eatons came to the Sheridan area, they found that tourism had already reached the towns of Dayton, Ranchester, Sheridan, Big Horn, Story, and Buffalo, in the form of seasonal hunters lodging at some of the local ranches and summer guests staying at the Sheridan Inn. Yet none of these ranches can be considered as fully developed dude ranches, and none thought of themselves as that. Taking in hunters was strictly a side-line activity. Sheridan had advanced from the status of just another "cow town" in 1892 when the Burlington Railroad reached there from the east and the Sheridan Inn was constructed to meet the growing demand for accommodations for hunters and tourists.

Within a decade after the Eatons had arrived, there had sprung up in the Sheridan area ten dude ranches and four hotels to meet the demand for accommodations.⁴⁸ Eaton's was the largest of the dude ranches, and no doubt influenced the growth of the others. One of the earliest to follow suit was the IXL Ranch near Dayton. Settled in 1892 by a Captain Grissell of the Ninth Lancers, a crack cavalry troop which gave the ranch its name, the IXL by 1912 had come into the hands of another Englishman, J. B. Milward, who operated it as a dude ranch. One of the oldest dude ranches in the region, the IXL only recently closed its doors to guests. Among the other dude ranches to appear before 1915 were the three operated by the Frank Hortons, the HF Bar, Trail Lodge, and the Paradise Ranch. Before 1915 M. T. Evans had established Tepee Lodge above Big Horn as a semi-private hunting lodge and then as

historical editions of newspapers or in *Dude Rancher Magazine*, but as yet nothing of any substance. The best written record of life at the Eaton Ranch during the 1915-1933 period appears in the writings of Mary Roberts Rinehart. Among her many works, those dealing with dude ranching and Howard Eaton are *The Out Trail* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1932); *Through Glacier Park: Seeing America First With Howard Eaton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916); *Tenting Tonight: A Chronicle of Sport and Adventure in Glacier Park and the Cascade Mountains* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918); *Summer Comes To The Ranch*, which is Book III (pp. 169-203) and *Riding The Circle*, which is Book IV (204-253) of the diverse volume *Nomad's Land* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1926); and *My Story: A New Edition and Seventeen Years* (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948). The interviews with Tom Ferguson, Mrs. John B. Duncan, and Miss Angela Buell, all cited elsewhere in this paper, were particularly helpful to the author. These were tape recorded and transcriptions will be added to the collections of the Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

48. An excellent summary of all existing tourist-resort facilities in the Sheridan area was included in Herbert Coffeen's Sheridan-published *The Tepee Book*, March-April-May 1915 issue. In fact, this entire issue of this short-lived, but interesting, publication was devoted to the topic of tourist spots in the area.

49. Allen "Ike" Fordyce, private interview, Big Horn, Wyoming, March 27, 1972; and *The Tepee Book*, *op. cit.*

a dude ranch.⁴⁹ After cattle conditions went bad around 1920, Willis Spear began taking dudes at the Spear Ranch below Sheridan, and in 1923 constructed the Spear-O-Wigwam mountain ranch.⁵⁰ By 1915 there were ten dude ranches; by 1920, 16; by 1924, 25; and by 1929, 31 in the Sheridan region east of the Big Horn Mountains.⁵¹

1929 was the peak year for dude ranches in the Sheridan area. Since then there has been a steady decline in dudes and dude ranches, and a current listing of dude ranches reads much like a 1915 listing: Eatons, Tepee, HF Bar, Paradise, and Spear-O-Wigwam. Tom Ferguson, president of the Dude Ranchers' Association and operator of the Eaton Ranch, points out that the Eaton physical plant has not increased since 1919.⁵² Angela Buell, a 50-year-member of the Eaton "family" has stated that never again, after 1929, were there as many dudes at Eatons or in the Sheridan area.⁵³ One by one, the mountain ranches that had drawn dudes to every canyon and valley on the eastern slope of the Big Horns have gone out of business, many of them being bought up by former dudes.⁵⁴

Across the Big Horn Mountains and down into the basin by the same name, dude ranching was scattered. The best known of the dude ranches on the western slope of the Big Horns was Trapper Lodge on Trapper Creek. Operated between 1910 and 1930 by Watson and Gay Wyman, this ranch became known as the "intellectual dude ranch" after its clientele of painters and authors.⁵⁵ Across the Big Horn Basin lies some of the most fertile ground in Wyoming for dude ranching, the Cody region.

Cody was even later than Sheridan in developing, not even being settled to any degree until after 1896. As has been seen, Yellowstone Park was already attracting tourists into the area in large numbers by the turn of the century, yet they generally entered from the north and west and south. Between 1900 and 1903 a series of

50. Elsa Spear Byron, private interview, Sheridan, Wyoming, March 28, 1972.

51. These figures were compiled by counting ranches listed in Burlington Railroad booklets entitled "Dude Ranches in the Big Horn Mountains, Wyoming." The booklets were undated when printed, but can be dated by internal evidence pertaining to the ownership of individual dude ranches. These booklets are located in the Manuscript Files, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, filed under "Dude Ranches—Big Horn Mountains Region."

52. Tom Ferguson, private interview, Eaton Ranch, Wolf, Wyoming, March 27, 1972. (Tom's wife Nancy is the daughter of "Big Bill" Eaton, Alden Eaton's son.)

53. Buell interview, *op. cit.*

54. Buell interview, *op. cit.*; Duncan interview, *op. cit.*

55. Marguerite D. Wyman's unpublished manuscript "Through The Year On a Dude Ranch," in the Marguerite D. Wyman Collection, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

events occurred that ensured forever that Cody was to be a thriving tourist town: the Burlington Railroad's "spur" reached Cody in 1901, the road to the East Gate was completed in 1903, and between 1901 and 1903, William F. Cody constructed the Irma Hotel in Cody, the Wapiti Lodge just over half-way to Yellowstone Park, and Pahaska Tepee at the east gate. In a sense, this represented an early chain of tourist lodges.⁵⁶

At about the same time, 1903, Sam W. Aldrich first opened the Aldrich Lodge near the head of the Southfork of the Shoshone River, just a few miles below Jim McLaughlin's Home Valley Ranch. During that first decade of the new century, Fred J. Richard and Ned Frost formed a partnership in outfitting and guiding that was to become well known in hunting circles across the nation. In 1910 they established the Frost-Richard Ranch up the Northfork on the road to Yellowstone.⁵⁷ Nearby was the Holm Lodge, founded in 1907 by Tex Holm, though operated for nearly four decades by J. V. Howell. In 1910 21-year-old I. H. "Larry" Larom visited the Home Valley Ranch for the first time, which he had acquired with a partner by 1915, and was to develop into the famed Valley Ranch.⁵⁸

In many ways the development of dude ranching in the Cody and Sheridan regions parallel each other. Starting with no bona fide dude ranches in 1903, each had more than two dozen by 1929. Each town had an influential leader in dude ranching: Sheridan had Howard Eaton who invented and perfected the dude ranching product; Cody had Larry Larom who, more than anyone else, organized the new industry and marketed the product in the East. Each region had its interpreter: Sheridan had Mary Roberts Rinehart and Cody had Caroline Lockhart. A basic difference between these two dude ranching centers was that whereas Sheridan's dude ranching origins came more out of working stock ranches, the Cody ranches generally traced their origins to early tourism. While dude ranching has declined steadily in Sheridan and surrounding towns since 1929, it remains fairly stable in the Cody region, an area where tourism has mushroomed dramatically in the past four decades.

Moving down into Jackson Hole, one can trace a similar pattern of development in the early years of this century. The first modern dude ranch there was the JY, begun in 1908 by Lou Joy in partner-

56. Fred Garlow, private interview, Cody, Wyoming, April 1, 1972. Mr. Garlow is the first grandson of William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, and has lived all of his life in the Cody country, engaging in the dude and tourism industry.

57. Richard "Dick" Frost, private interview, Cody, Wyoming, March 31, 1972.

58. Larom interview, *op. cit.*

ship with Struthers Burt.⁵⁹ When the partnership failed after the 1911 season, Burt and Dr. Horace Carncross homesteaded the Bar BC, which is commonly recognized as the second dude ranch in the valley.⁶⁰ Dude ranching was slower to develop there, probably due to the remoteness of Jackson Hole from main rail lines.

By the 1920s, when dude ranching really began to take hold in the valley, outside factors were appearing on the horizon that would, in time, retard further development of dude ranching in Jackson Hole. It was in 1926 that John D. Rockefeller II first became interested in buying up a large part of the valley, for eventual transference to the Grand Teton National Park, and although Rockefeller favored some dude ranching in the valley, numerous dude ranches of the 1920s have now reverted to the park.⁶¹ It was in the 1920s that John S. Turner started his family in dude ranching, and his grandsons, Harold, John, and Don Turner currently operate the largest dude ranch in Jackson Hole, the Triangle X.⁶²

By the late 1920s, there were a dozen or more dude ranches in Jackson Hole, and another dozen south and east of the valley that advertised themselves as located in Jackson Hole.

Dubois, to the east of Jackson Hole, was also a thriving little dude ranch town in the 1920s, the most famous of a half dozen ranches located there being that of Charles C. Moore, the C. M. Ranch. Below "Little Jackson's Hole," which was south of the town of Jackson, were several more dude ranches extending southward down the Hoback River to the upper valley of the Green River. Altogether, by 1929, there were nearly 100 dude ranches in Wyoming, most of them within this Sheridan-to-the-Green River arc in northwestern Wyoming.

Struthers Burt has stated that dude ranching grew "willy-nilly," meaning in a compulsive, unplanned, unorganized manner. Each ranch was an individual enterprise, and in the early years there was no sense of being part of a larger industry. Organization was forced upon dude ranching from within and from without. The internal force for an association of dude ranchers was Larry Larom

59. Elizabeth Hayden, *From Trapper to Tourist in Jackson Hole*, (Jackson, Wyoming: By the author, 1957), pp. 40-41.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 41; Burt wrote an interesting account of his and Carncross' homesteading and construction of the Bar BC in his *Diary of A Dude Wrangler*, pp. 87-136.

61. The creation and expansion of Grand Teton National Park, especially the two-decade-long expansion struggle, has never been adequately dealt with historically, although the best published treatment thus far is included in Saylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-213. Also see David C. Swain's *Horace M. Albright, Wilderness Defender*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

62. Harold Turner, private interview, Triangle X Ranch, Moose, Wyoming. May 19, 1972.

of the Valley Ranch near Cody. Since going into the dude business in 1915, Larom had relied heavily upon his close associates in New York journalism to publicize his ranch and dude ranching in general. He saw the need for an industry-wide promotional effort, to educate potential guests as to what a Wyoming dude ranch had to offer.

In the fall of 1926 Larom, working closely with railroad officials, called together some 25 dude ranchers at Bozeman, Montana, and together they formed the Dude Ranchers' Association.⁶³ The railroads played an important role in bringing the dude ranchers together and in supporting the resulting association in the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s.⁶⁴ Originally the Dude Ranchers' Association was principally a promotional group, organized to sell the idea of dude ranching.⁶⁵ However, in drawing dude ranchers together, it also served a social function, and it made dude ranchers aware that they were part of a new industry, with common interests and common problems. Only later did the Association take on a political function.⁶⁶ Most of the Dude Ranchers' Association's history is beyond the scope of this paper. It is still a going concern, approaching its fiftieth year, currently under the presidency of Tom Ferguson of the Eaton Ranch. The current executive secretary of the Association is Peggy Schaffer, formerly of the Two Bar Seven Ranch of Tie Siding, Wyoming, and Virginia Dale in Colorado.⁶⁷

By 1929, then, dude ranching had all the appearances of a new, fast-growing industry approaching maturity. Within 25 years dude ranching had come from nothing except a tourism heritage of an informal variety to nearly a hundred ranches in Wyoming alone.⁶⁸ The three-year-old Dude Ranchers' Association had expanded from the 25 original members to 91 by the end of the 1929 season.

63. Larom interview, *op. cit.*

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*; Ferguson interview, *op. cit.*

66. *Ibid.*

67. As has been stated, the Dude Ranchers' Association was organized in the fall of 1926 and the scope of this paper is essentially through only 1929. As such, the Dude Ranchers' Association is not really dealt with here, and presents still another possibility for additional related research and scholarship. The fiftieth convention will be in the fall of 1975, sending the association into its fiftieth year through the season of 1976.

68. This figure of nearly a hundred dude ranches in Wyoming by 1929 was arrived at by compiling a list of all "advertised" dude ranches that could be located for that year in newspapers, railroad literature, and individual ranch brochures. It should be pointed out that less than half of these, 45 to be exact, were then members of the Dude Ranchers' Association. Compilation was from materials in the Manuscript Files, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, under the heading "Dude Ranches" and the numerous sub-headings and cross-references.

Half of these were Wyomingites.⁶⁹ Each year of the 1920s had seen expansion in numbers of ranches and expansion on individual ranches. Cody business and civic leader Jacob M. Schwoob expressed the prevailing optimism in the industry when, speaking to the 1929 convention, he predicted:

The industry is just in its infancy . . . and it is very reasonable to predict a rapidly expanding industry which will entertain a hundred thousand people each summer at our dude ranches.⁷⁰

However, as the dude ranchers gathered together at Billings, Montana, that fall, little did they realize that their best days were already history. After that season, a series of adverse outside factors halted the growth of this new industry, and within a few years sent it into gradual decline. The chronology of four decades of decline in dude ranching is beyond the scope of this paper.⁷¹ Suffice to say that dude ranching never again attracted as many visitors as it did in 1929, and since that year there has been a steady decline in numbers of ranches operating in the state. After World War II there came into being a large, diversified tourism industry in Wyoming of major economic significance, which by the 1960s had relegated dude ranching to relative economic insignificance.

However, the author would be remiss if the reader were left with the impression that dude ranching is dying out altogether in Wyoming. For despite the relative insignificance of dude ranching when compared to the overall vacation industry of Wyoming, and despite the very real decline in numbers of dudes and ranches over the last four decades, there are still a number of financially sound dude ranches operating in Wyoming. Most of these are located off the heavily traveled highways, behind unrevealing, non-promotional signs, usually out of sight down a curving, grassy road. They are unspectacular, and their dudes in town are indistinguishable in the crowd, and so the dude ranches now go unnoticed. Still, a few of these continue to offer a different kind of experience for visitors

69. Compilation is from a list "Active Members—Dude Ranchers' Association" on pp. 117-118 of the printed *Minutes of the Fourth Annual Dude Ranchers' Meeting Held At Billings, Montana In The Northern Hotel Tea Room, November 18, 19, 20, 1929*. It is obvious from this list that although the Dude Ranchers' Association was open to membership from any state, it was essentially a Wyoming-Montana association.

70. "Address delivered to the 1929 Dude Ranchers' Association convention," Jacob M. Schwoob Collection, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

71. The statement, "The chronology of four decades of decline in dude ranching is beyond the scope of this paper," might easily be misleading. It tends to obscure the fact that despite a general, overall decline in dude ranching since 1929, there have been numerous successful dude ranches started since that year, some of which are still prospering. Treatment beyond 1929 would reveal some outstanding later dude ranchers.

not willing to join the vacation crowd of millions that annually passes through Wyoming.

In conclusion, the impact of dude ranching upon those peoples and the localities it affected should be considered. The dudes came west seeking pleasure, adventure, escape from urban America, a glimpse of the Old West, and some leisure living. Larry Larom advertised his product as "Simplicity of Living."⁷² One has only to read the numerous testimonials written in to the *Dude Rancher Magazine*, or the books of Mary Roberts Rinehart, to realize that the dudes found what they came for. The fact that dudes came back year after year to visit "Uncle Howard," "Uncle Alden," and "Uncle Willis" Eaton indicates their satisfaction with life at the Eaton Ranch. When the dude ranches began to fail after 1929, numerous dudes bought these up and made their homes in the West.⁷³

The impact of dude ranching upon the dude wrangler was hit upon by Struthers Burt in an unpublished manuscript of the late 1930s:

Homesteading, desert claiming, and stock ranching are sternly local and deep rooted in the soil; they give a man a subjective outlook. That is, he looks from the inside out and his interests are inclined to be narrow and expert. Dude wrangling also penetrates deeply into the roots of a country, but it spreads out more among those roots, takes in more earth, and, above ground, is objective, national, and even international. The dude wrangler, if he is ordinarily intelligent, is constantly being forced to modify and amend his own ideas and impressions through perpetual and deeply intimate contact with hundreds of various kinds of people from all over the United States and even Europe . . . On the one side he has the people of his state, and his neighbors, on the other he has the whole world.⁷⁴

This broadening effect that Burt wrote of also made itself felt in the dude ranching towns of Wyoming, especially in those towns such as Sheridan where numerous dudes settled on their own ranches. The whole social, intellectual, cultural, and economic climate of Sheridan, Cody, and Jackson has been enriched by contacts with Eastern dudes. Additionally, the simple fact that dudes were interested in western heritage, in rodeos, in western arts and crafts, has served as a strong impetus for retaining these best aspects of western life and heritage.

The economic impact of dude ranching is difficult to assess, in that sound statistics reflecting the role of tourism have traditionally been elusive. Dude ranching had long passed its peak before

72. Larom interview, *op. cit.*

73. Rinehart, *op. cit.*

74. M. Struthers Burt, unpublished manuscript, "The Highlanders; An Informal Biography of Wyoming," pp. 7-8, M. Struthers Burt Collection, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

there was any real interest in assessing its economic role in the state, and precious few dude ranches have left any records to posterity.⁷⁵ Still, it is certain that dude ranching saved many failing cattle ranches in the 1920s, by the extra income that was generated. The interest and promotional assistance provided by the railroads indicates that dude passengers were an important segment of their summer travelers. Local economies were enriched by money-spending dudes in town and by the local purchasing of the operating ranches. And it was because of dude ranching that Wyoming first began to look into tourism as an industry of major economic significance.⁷⁶

The American West benefited in a number of ways from dude ranching. It has already been shown how dude ranching worked toward the preservation of the best aspects of western life and heritage. One particular contribution of dude ranching, which remains significant in the 1970s, arises out of the fact that dude ranchers have always been concerned with the preservation and the perpetuation of the natural resources of the West. In a sense this interest in conservation can be traced to economic self interest, in that their product has always been the beauty of the relatively unspoiled West, the wilderness and the wildlife. But the interest and contributions to the cause of conservation by such men as Howard Eaton, Charles C. Moore, Larry Larom, and Struthers Burt is traceable to higher motives than mere self interest. Since its earliest days, the Dude Ranchers' Association has been interested and active in conservation matters in Wyoming and Montana. Even in the 1970s dude ranchers, such as Allen "Ike" Fordyce of Tepee Lodge and John Turner of the Triangle X Ranch, remain in the forefront of Wyoming conservation issues, and the entire association remains interested in general conservation issues.⁷⁷

75. For more than 15 years, the Western History Research Center at the University of Wyoming, Laramie, under the leadership of Gene M. Gressley has been actively collecting materials pertaining to all aspects of the economic and social development of the Rocky Mountain West. There are substantial holdings in livestock industry history, mining history, petroleum history, water resources history; but there are only three collections of any size dealing with dude ranching. This reflects the scarcity of ranch records for this economic activity.

76. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, state officials began mentioning dude ranching as a source of state income. However, no reliable statistics were gathered at that time, as recreation industry data-collecting techniques had yet to be worked out.

77. "Ike" Fordyce has played an active role in citizen involvement in U. S. Forest Service decisions affecting the future of the Big Horn Mountains and the Big Horn National Forest. John Turner, a trained wildlife ecologist and state legislator, has become a principal spokesman of conservationists in Wyoming, in addition to his dude ranching activities at the Triangle X with his brothers and mother. The role that dude ranchers can play as conservationists in the 1970s was suggested by Margaret E. Murie

In sum, dude ranching has had a most beneficial effect upon all concerned. Its impact in bare economic terms has never been assessed, although it is now insignificant in comparison to the overall vacation industry. Still, in the years before tourism struck full force in the West, dude ranching was obviously a significant local economic factor. It is beyond economic considerations, however, that dude ranching has had its most beneficial effect on the overall development of twentieth century Wyoming.

in an address to the Dude Ranchers' Association Convention, November 19, 1970, entitled "Dude Ranchers Are Influential People." (Copy included in the Olaus & Margaret Murie Collection, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.)



Western History Research Center
University of Wyoming

OFFICERS AT FORT FETTERMAN

The Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition of 1876

AS SEEN THROUGH THE LETTERS
OF CAPTAIN GERHARD LUKE LUHN*

By

JAMES H. NOTTAGE

Portions of Wyoming, Montana and the Dakotas were alive with military activity in 1876. A proclamation had been issued, with the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, designed to force all non-treaty Sioux Indians into recognition of the United States government. By January 31, 1876, they were to settle on established reservations. If they did not do so, they would be forced onto the reservations, and, if necessary, be severely chastised in the process.¹

Three columns of troops went in pursuit of the alleged "hostiles" who did not respond to the proclamation. General Alfred Terry, commander of the Department of Dakota, led his troops, including George A. Custer and the ill-fated Seventh Cavalry, out from Fort Abraham Lincoln in Dakota Territory. The second column was led by Colonel John Gibbon from Forts Shaw and Ellis in Montana, while from Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory, the third column was led by the commander of the Department of the Platte, General George Crook.²

Crook's was the first of these groups to take the field and on March 17, 1876, part of his command, under Colonel J. J. Reynolds, attacked a Cheyenne village on the Powder River. The

*Note. The following letters are printed with the kind permission of Luhn's granddaughter, Marion Sheehy of Palo Alto, California. The Luhn papers were deposited by her at the Western History Research Center of the University of Wyoming, where Dr. Gene M. Gressley and his staff were most helpful in making them available for study and publication.

1. Lt. Gen. P. H. Sheridan (Commanding), *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri, from 1868 to 1882*, (Washington: GPO, 1882), p. 49.

2. For a general history of the Indian War of 1876 see Edgar I. Stewart, *Custer's Luck*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955).

village was captured, but Reynolds withdrew and the circumstances of this action led to his being court-martialed by Crook.³

It was not until May of 1876 that the campaign was resumed. On the 29th day of that month Crook led 15 companies of cavalry and five companies of infantry out from Fort Fetterman. In command of Company F of the Fourth Infantry was Captain Gerhard Luke Luhn, who had just returned to his command after a three-month leave of absence in the East. For Luhn, the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition would be just one more high point in a long and active military career.

This green-eyed, fair-haired captain was born in Elbergen, Germany, in 1831, and had traveled with his family to the United States in 1845. On January 10, 1853, in St. Louis, Missouri, he enlisted as a private in the Sixth U. S. Infantry. Until the Civil War, he would serve with this unit over vast areas of the West, and take part in a number of well known incidents of the period.⁴

Detailed at first for the construction of Fort Ridgely, Minnesota, Luhn and his company found themselves transferred to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, later in 1854. Here they took part in the build-up of troops for a punitive expedition to chastise Sioux Indians who had taken part in the Grattan Massacre of August 18, 1854. This expedition, under the command of Colonel William S. Harney, resulted in the Battle (or massacre) of Ash Hollow where the Sioux were soundly defeated. Luhn, however, had been detailed with parts of his company to help garrison Fort Kearney, and did not take part in the battle.⁵

From Fort Kearney Luhn was later transferred to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. In May of 1857 he served as part of the escort under Colonel Joseph E. Johnston when the southern boundary of Kansas was surveyed.⁶ Later, beginning in March of 1858, Luhn, (by now a first sergeant) served with another escort when Colonel William H. Hoffman was assigned with several troops of cavalry and infantry to transport supplies being sent West for soldiers taking part in the so-called "Mormon" or Utah War. The supplies

3. This part of the campaign is well covered in J. W. Vaughn, *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961).

4. Autobiography of Gerhard Luke Luhn, 1831-1918, MS in The Western History Research Center of the University of Wyoming, pp. 1-3; and *Registers of Enlistments in the U. S. Army, 1798-1914*, microfilm copy in the files of Fort Laramie National Historic Site.

5. Luhn *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9; for a complete discussion of the Sixth U. S. Infantry and its activities prior to the Civil War, see Ralph P. Bieber (ed.) Eugene Bandel, *Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861*, (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1932).

6. Luhn, *ibid.*, pp. 10-16; Bieber, *ibid.*, pp. 41-44.

were delivered despite heavy snowfall and Luhn's Company E became part of the garrison at Fort Bridger.⁷

Luhn was soon on the move, however, and would serve, until transferred east during the Civil War, at various posts in California. That transfer came in September of 1861 and Luhn and the Sixth U. S. Infantry were soon quartered in Washington, D. C. During the first part of the war, Luhn was present with the Sixth Infantry at Gaines' Mill and Mechanicsville in the Peninsula Campaign in Virginia in 1862. He was taken prisoner by the Confederates, and later in 1862 was sent north in a prisoner exchange after being held at Libby Prison and Belle Isle in Richmond, Virginia.

On November 12, 1862, Luhn's enlistment ran out and he returned to his home in Cincinnati, Ohio, to enter private business. A short three months later he accepted a commission as second lieutenant in the Fourth U. S. Infantry. After reporting for duty he served in the battles of Second Bull Run or Manassas, Antietam, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. On April 2, 1865, he was awarded the rank of brevet captain for gallant and meritorious service in front of Petersburg, Virginia.⁸

Luhn's post-Civil War career varied from recruiting duty in the East to Indian fighting, patrol duty, and garrison activity in the West. In 1867, while in Nebraska as commander of Company K of the Fourth Infantry, he was ordered to guard workers on the Union Pacific Railroad from attack by Indians. In the summer of 1868 three companies of the Fourth Infantry, including Luhn and Company K, were ordered to change station from Fort Sedgwick, Colorado, to Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory, and arrived at their new station on July 9, 1868.⁹ On January 21, 1869, Luhn was appointed Regimental Quartermaster and served in that capacity until January 1, 1871.¹⁰ Following two years recruiting service in the East, Luhn was stationed at Fort Bridger, and then at Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory, until the campaign of 1876. After that he served at Fort D. A. Russell outside of Cheyenne, and was its commanding officer in 1877 and 1878.¹¹ From September until October 1879 he was the ranking officer at Fort Sanders south of present day Laramie.¹² Following this duty, Luhn served with his company at various locations including Fort Bridger, Fort

7. Luhn, *ibid.*, pp. 21-23; Bieber, *ibid.*, pp. 49-55.

8. Luhn, *ibid.*, pp. 38-70; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789-1903*, (Washington: GPO, 1903), Vol. I, pp. 646-647.

9. Luhn, *ibid.*, pp. 71-75; Letter, A. J. Slemmer, Lieut. Col. commanding, Fort Laramie, to A. G., Dept. of the Platte, July 9, 1868, Letters sent, copy on file at Fort Laramie National Historic site.

10. G. O. #1, Hq. Fort Laramie, January 21, 1869; Luhn, *ibid.*, p. 75.

11. Jane R. Kendall, "History of Fort Francis E. Warren," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 18, No. 1, p. 55.

Niobrara in Nebraska, Rosebud Indian Agency in South Dakota, Spokane, Washington, and Fort Sherman, Idaho. He had attained the rank of captain on December 31, 1875 and retired with that rank on February 19, 1895.¹³ Even upon retirement his military career did not end. He soon became a military instructor at Gonzaga College in Washington state and served in that capacity for six years. Luhn and his wife traveled throughout the United States following his final retirement.¹⁴ He died in Spokane, Washington, in 1920.

The following letters, as written by Gerhard Luke Luhn while serving with General George Crook's Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition of 1876, are presented for several reasons. Although not satisfied with his education or confident in his writing ability, Luhn had a style of expressing himself which could be colorful, concise, and perceptive. His letters reveal much factual information about a campaign which is often overshadowed by the activities of an officer named Custer and his demise on June 25, 1876, in the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Also, Luhn's personal attitudes and reactions toward commanders, fellow officers, campaigning and Indian fighting are not unlike those of other officers and participants in the expedition.

When the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition left Fort Fetterman on May 29, 1876, Luhn was in high spirits. By June 2 he optimistically noted in his diary that there was "plenty of Indian sign," and hoped for an early confrontation with the hostiles and a quick return home. Mail deliveries were rather erratic and depended upon messengers sent to and from the column. Luhn said little in his first letter dated May 29th, at 10 o'clock in evening, but had much more news in the second letter dated June 11.¹⁵

12. Ray Revere, *A History of Fort Sanders, Wyoming*. (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Wyoming, August, 1960), p. 26.

13. Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 646-647.

14. Luhn, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.

June 11th 4 P.M. Currier leaves this evening we moved camp from Tannge River too goose Creek about 15 miles just got into camp. it is raining many kisses to you all¹⁶

Big Horn & Yellowstone Expedition
on Tannge River 190 miles from
Fetterman June 9th 1876

My Dear Wife

Corpl Hardy & Harris came in last night and this morning while I was yet in bed an orderly brought me your letter, next to seeing you and the children it was the greatest pleasure that I could have received, we arived here on the 7th and I belive this will be the permanant camp for the Infantry, but cant say what Genl Crook is going to do until he hears from the guides who left on the 2d at Fort Reno for the Crow Indian reservation to bring a lot of Crow Indians as scouts, our march so far has been undesturbed by Indians and we have not seen an Indian since we left, night before last.¹⁷ one or more Indians came within about six hundred yards of our camp on a high bluff on the River and talked quite a while but as the guides were away for the Crows no body knows what they realy did say. one of the packkers who understands sioux says that they wanted to know where the half breeds were and if we had any Crow Indians with us, but it gave us something to talk about, and before night there were a dozen different versions of what they said.¹⁸ I am happy to know that my Darling Wife and children are well. I got a bad cold in my bowells during those few days of very cold weather we had, and was quite sick when we got to Reno but Dr. Patskey [Patzki] gave me two doses of medicine when we got into camp and next morning I was all right The 4th

15. The letters are here presented literally with no alterations in Luhn's capitalization, poor spelling or erratic punctuation.

16. Luhn is obviously referring here to the Tongue River. He consistently spells it Tannge throughout the letters.

17. Fort Reno had been established on June 28, 1866, and was abandoned on August 18, 1868, following the Fort Laramie Treaty of that same year. After proceeding north from this site, the column also passed over the former location of Fort Phil Kearny and the site of the Fetterman Massacre of December 21, 1866. Robert W. Frazer, *Fort of the West*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 184; and Luhn's diary entries for June 5-6, 1876.

18. One of the newspaper reporters traveling with column, John F. Finerty, suggests that some felt the visitor could have been one of the expected Crow scouts. If he was a Crow, he may have been scared away by the packer speaking to him in Sioux. Luhn diary entry for June 7; John F. Finerty, *War-Path and Bivouac*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955), pp. 89-90; see also, John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), p. 295; and Oliver Knight, *Following the Indian Wars*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 177.

day out it snowed from 5 until 10 a.m. and the preveous days having been so warm we felt it very much, with the exception of about 6 hours @ Reno my health has been very good. we have a beautifull camp where Peno Creek comes into Tannge River. . . . I am glad Henrys Pony is getting along nicely, he must not ride out to far or go near the Platte, and the Lapareal [LaPrele] is dangerous when high, I will now wait for something els to turn up. and only say that our mess is A No 1 Mr. Strahorn one of the Reporters messes with us.¹⁹ we have all kinds of game Buffoloe, Elk, Antelope, Willow grouse doves, soft shell Turtle, Pickeral and diferent kinds of Fish, we expected to have some Trout but we are eight miles from where goose creek emties into Tannge River and goose creek is the stream that has plenty of Trout, when we left old Phil Kearny we expected to make our permanant camp on goose creek, so Capt. Noys [Noyes] took 10 men and went ahead to fish expecting that we would camp there that night, the consequence was that he and his party slept away from camp that night and came in next morning @ sunrise, any person not in camp when it gets dark has to remain away for fear of being shot by the pickets, we passed over the very ground where Major Fetterman and 83 men [81 men in all] were killed some years ago, dont you belive all the rumors you hear about the warriors leaving to fight us. There sure were a Thousand Warriors at the Agencies, all we are afraid of that we wont find them, I do wish that Mr Sitting Bull would come and give us battle, we are all ready, and if we could get one good fight out of him we would soon be back to Fetterman. it is raining and getting quite chilly. 6:30 P.M. I went on as officer of the Day @ 6 P.M. @ 6.30 we have retreat and Co Inspection, and while I was Inspecting my company, the pickets commenced firing, and like a flash about 75 Indians appeared on a high bank of Tannge River about 600 yards from our camp and let loose on us. It lasted about one hour, we had three Horses shot and two men hit with spent bullets, I had a buisy time of it posting pickets until about 9 P.M. the night passed over quietly, and I feel first rate this morning it rained last night and is very cold this morning, it reminded me of old times to hear the bullets go by zip.²⁰ Chambers was just in and told me that we would move camp @ 8 A.M. tomorrow and that the currior would return as

19. Writing basically for the *Rocky Mountain News*, Robert E. Strahorn also reported for the *Chicago Tribune*, *Omaha Republican*, *Cheyenne Sun*, and *New York Times*. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

20. This minor skirmish was invigorating for the entire command. It is curious to note that Lieutenant Thaddeus H. Capron of the Ninth Infantry wrote in his diary, much like Luhn, that "The zipping of the bullets reminded me of days gone by." Thaddeus H. Capron Collection, MS in The Western History Research Center of the University of Wyoming, entry June 9, 1876.

soon as we reached our new camp, which I understand is to be about 14 miles from here on goose creek,²¹ so that will have some Trout fishing after all, dont be alarmed about me Dearest, I run no risk by hunting or fishing I dont go outside of camp only when duty calls me, such as posting pickets and the like, we shall remain no doubt in our new camp until the guides return, and as soon the return, the train will leave for Fetterman, I dont know what companies go but I dont want to go if I can help it, I would like to see you all but I much rather not go which I will explain to you some other time, so dont feel bad if you dont see me with the train, now dearest Wife and children I hope to soon see you again kiss the children for me give the enclosed to Robinson²² your Affectionate Husband

Luke

Camp on Goose Creek
June 15th 1876

My Dear Wife

This is a stirring day with us. About 150 Crows and 86 Snakes came in last evening. We are off this evening or to morrow morning. The crows brought the news that Sitting Bull is about 80 miles from here where the Tannge River empties in to Yellow Stone River the Infantry is going to be mounted with four days rations one hundred rounds of Ammunition per man, it will be a hard ride and if God only gives me my health to stand the ride, and if Sitting Bull makes a stand F. Co shall not be last into it and first out, Gibbons is camped uposite the Indian and cant cross the Yellow Stone on account of high water, but can look into Sitting Bulls camp, now dearest God bless you and the children I kiss you all. I think we will be home sooner than we expected Your ever loving Husband

G. L. Luhn

Camp on Goose Creek
June 19th 1876

My Dear Wife

Four days this morning we left this Camp 180 Infantry mounted on mules and all the Cavalry 100 rounds per man and four days rations first day we marched 42 miles we were in the saddle from

21. Major Alexander Chambers was in overall command of the Infantry with the expedition.

22. Second Lieutenant Henry E. Robinson of the Fourth Infantry was stationed at Fort Fetterman.

6 A.M. until 2 P.M. mounted again at 4 P.M. and marched until 9 P.M. next morning we left camp about 6 A.M. @ 8 A.M. the column was halted owing to the scouts comming in and reporting having seen the Indians drive a heard of ponies, but the Indian scouts had not been in more then an hour when the Crows spied the Sioux near us and the fireing commenced, we had unsaddled, Capt Munsons Company and mine we the first out as skirmishers, Genl Crook thought it would not amount to much thinking there were only a few hundred of them but he found out in a very few minutes that he had Mr Sitting Bull with his entire band to fight, so that in a short time all the Infantry was out, but soon came back saddled our mules and went at a galop for about a mile deloyed as skirmishers mounted and dismounted and went into the red skins. The battle lasted about four hours when the all of a sudden disappeared, and did not show themselves again, we lost in the Cavelry 9 men killed and about 20 wounded Cain had three men wounded two slightly and one man whom was shot by his own company will loose his leg my men did not get a scratch. Corpl Roper got a hole through his hat, the three companis of the 9th also escaped unhurt, the train leaves here in a few days and I guess I will come with it, providing Chambers sends me. 100 men are going as guard, enclosed you will find Sioux Indian head dress picked up on the Battlefield by Babtiste, I had my hands full and had no time to look after trophies I will tell you all if I come. The Sioux left 14 Indians dead and must have carried off several. The Indians fought there very best but had to skin out it is suposed that Sitting Bull had probably 1500 Indians, write to William about it,²³ there will be 5 companies more of Infantry to camp out with next train God bless you all and many kisses to you all, Capt Gui [Guy] V. Henry was badly shot both cheak bones carrying away the nose
Your Affectionate Husband

G. L. Luhn

Luhn recorded a much more detailed description of the Rosebud battle in his diary, almost five weeks after the fighting occurred. The account follows as written in his diary on July 23, 1876.²⁴

DESCRIPTION OF ROSEBUD FIGHT

"Having marched about five miles on the morning of the 17th of June we were orderd to unsaddle on the left bank of Rosebud The 2d Cav. were below us on left bank and the 3d on right bank. we had been unsaddled a few minutes when I saw Van Vleit [Vliet]

23. William L. Luhn was the Captain's brother and a resident of Cincinnati, Ohio.

24. The most thorough account of the battle is found in J. W. Vaughn, *With Crook at the Rosebud*, (Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1956).

across the creek I stepped over and sat down and talked to him & Crawford and Chase, wondering at a halt so early when all of a sudden shots were rapidly fired on the left side of Rosebud and below the Cavalry, I ran to my Company saw Chambers he ordered Muson [Munson] with his Co to deploy my Company was second in line I asked if I should go he said yes I was going to take my entire company but he ordered me to leave about 10 men with the mules, when I marched my company near the foot of the hill by the flank formed line and deployed on the right fours which joined my right near Musons left we soon got within good distance of the Sioux and Dickens [Dickson] of my company dropped a horse second shot he fired, we could have hurt the Sioux considerable had it not been for the Crows & Snakes who were skirmishing with the Sioux all this time.²⁵ we remained on the field probably about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour when we were orderd to go for our mules and saddle up, and as soon as saddled Munsens [sic], Burrows [Burrowes] and my company went up a long sloping hill @ a trot and gallop. formed line mounted then dismounted and deployed as skirmishers, Cains and Burts Co followed us up the hill as soon as they were saddled. the Companies deployed on the hill were Munsons Cain and mine, Burt & Burrows were orderd with there Companies to the left where Col Royall was hard pressed with four companis of Cav. and sustained heavy loss of nine killed and twenty aught wounded and it is my candid opinion had it not been for Burt & Burrows Cos who poured in there fire by the Volleys Royall would have a different story to tell. Munsons Cains and my Co as soon as deployed marched for a round bute on the far end of the hill from where the Indians were anoying us very much. they left when we got within four or five hundred yards of them, although the poured in brisk fire all the time not a man was hurt. the entire lenght of this hill was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. while four companies of 3 under Royall were being hard pressed and Van Vleit with Crawfords Co was holding a hill on the opposite side of the Rosebud Noyes with 5 companies of the 2d and Mills with four Companis of the 3d were riding @ a brisk pace for the Villiage through the Canion of Rosebud, but Genl Crook countermand the order and Capt Nickerson caught them about six miles into the Canion when he gave them Crooks order, had they gone on they would no doubt have met the same fate that Custer and his command did, the Infantry also were orderd to follow the Cavalry, but it was countermanded before we got Started. the Indians were well handled but a the reflection of the sun in a looking glass. The left the field like

25. The Indian allies were wearing strips of red flannel over their shoulders to distinguish them from the hostiles. Apparently this flannel did not serve its purpose when viewed from a distance, so on July 15 it was replaced with small white flags. Luhn diary entry for July 15, 1876.

a flash which we could not account for at the time but we now know that they were all called to the Villiage to help in slaughtering our Cavelry as soon as they would get near the end of the Canion."

Following the Battle of the Rosebud, General Crook withdrew the entire command and returned it to his supply base on Goose Creek. On June 21 part of the command left camp to return to Fort Fetterman with the wounded and the supply train of 104 six mule teams. Samuel Munson's Company C of the Ninth Infantry and Luhn's Company F of the Fourth Infantry, under the command of Major Alexander Chambers, served as escort. They returned to Crook's camp on July 13 with five additional companies of infantry and the restocked supply train. After the Rosebud battle, the Shoshone Indian allies had returned to their homes near Fort Washakie. On July 11 over 200 of them, led by Chief Washakie, returned to further reinforce Crook's command.²⁶ Luhn's correspondence with his wife did not resume again until after his return to Crook's main camp.

Camp Cloud Peak July 16th
4 P.M.

My Dear Wife and children

we arived here safe with our train on the morning of the 13th inst. two Co of Cavelry met us @ Phil Kearny, Crook had become somewhat anxious about us but there was no danger with seven Companies of Infantry but when we were comming with the emty train only two companys as guard they might have bothered us considerable, we heard of the Custer affair @ Old Reno dont be afraid about us what ever may happen they wont be able to get away with us as they did with Custer, Our Cavelry are not going to go in mounted and when they are on foot the must and will fight. Three men of the 7th Inf came through from Terry as curriers. They brave fellows vollenteerd, after it had been tried by scouts twice and run back each time, the came over part of our Rosebud battle field, the Indians have moved and taken only what was most necessary, all the other things were destroyed by Terrys troops it took them two days to destroy everything @ present sitting bull is about 45 miles from us in the mountains due west from us, we are oaiting for the 5th cavelry and some Yute Indians 50 I believe to be commanded by Lt. Spencer and I expect when they all come and everything is ready which wont be however before 8 or 10 days

26. Luhn diary entry, June 21; Capron, *op. cit.*, June 20, 21, and July 13 and 14; Grace R. Hebard, *Washakie*, (Glendale: Arthur H. Clarke Co., 1930). pp. 193-194; Martin F. Schmitt, *General George Crook: His Autobiography*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 199.

from now we will go for sitting bull about 1500 strong of which 10 companies will be Infantry and I am satisfied we will be able to take care of us, we may sustain heavy loss but if we do we will have our mark on the Indians. I wish you would write to your Father and tell him to go to the Life Insurance office and apply for a special permit for me to be here, dont forget it, we have drill skirmish every day, now Darling what ever may happen you may depend upon it will be strictly in my line of duty. you wont hear from me again likely until after a fight, and I hope that the next battle will deside the thing, so that those that are spared can go home in peace, Genl. Terry wrote a very pritty letter to Crook asking him to cooperate with him Terry that he would not excersise any control over Crook on account of his seneority,²⁷ but I dont think that Crook thinks of acting in concert with Terry, those brave men that came from Terry command are going back this evening, there are just about 9 chances out of ten that they wont get through the direction they have to go. I suppose you have or will hear of Lt Sibleys narrow escape with 25 men and Frank and Battise the guides, they lost all the Horss and had to travel about 50 miles without anything to eat.²⁸ I will send you my diary when we leave for the fight which wont be until the 5th Cav. come which gives us in all 23 companies of Cav. and 10 companies of Inf. God bless you and the Children is the earnest prayer of your loving Husband

G. L. Luhn

I drew all the money at Tillotson²⁹ write to William If anything should happend me dont go to the Burgh if you can help it. You will get \$30 per month pension, you might have some trouble in getting the insurance unless your Father got the permit I write this Dearest only as a matter of business, the Indians may have all scatterd before we are ready to go for them and may not have the

27. The letter in question is probably the same dispatch mentioned by Luhn which was carried to Crook by the three men from the Seventh Infantry. It is printed in Loyd J. Overfield II, *The Little Big Horn, The Official Documents*, (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, Co.), p. 56.

28. Lieutenant F. W. Sibley with just a few men, guided by the scouts Frank Grouard and Baptiste Pourier, had been detailed by Crook to scout the surrounding country. They were attacked by Indians, forced to abandon their horses and return on foot to the main camp. The ordeal is recounted in Joe DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures of Frank Grouard*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 136-146; and Finerty, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-196.

29. E. Tilliston was the sutler at Fort Fetterman, John Hunton, "Fort Fetterman," MS dated November 20, 1925, in the Western History Research Center of the University of Wyoming, Fort Fetterman File.

chance to fire a shot but it is well enough to be prepared. so kiss the children for me and I remain your loving Husband³⁰

G. L. Luhn

July 17th

My Dear Wife

This letter was to go last night by Genl. Crooks curier, but we were camped about five miles apart and consequently the Curier did not come to Camp and take the mail. This Curier we have hired that is the Infantry Batalion and pay him \$75.00 for the trip, and have agreed to pay him 25¢ per letter for those he brings back, dont send any letter but your own you can give me all the news, we moved camp and are now within 100 yards of Crooks Hd Quarters, a beautifull camp close up against the Big Horn range, watter ice cold. I think the permit I got some time ago from the Life insurance company covers or rather permits my being in this Indian country but tell yourFather if it does not clearly say so, let him get a special permit, it will not cost any more, only they will pay you probably 10 per cent less if I should get killed, which I do not intend doing but you know Dearest it is well to be prepared. Remember me to Robinson. Tell him not to come unless he has a good oportunity my health was never better, I can march 24 miles jump creeks and it does not hurt me in the least. All the men are in excellent health and if Sitting Bull does not scatter his tribe, I think we will teach him a lesson even he wont forget, Kiss the Children and many from your ever loving husband

G. L. Luhn

Camp Cloud Peak July 20th 1876

My Dear Wife and children

We moved camp about 2½ miles west yesterday, we move camp every two or three days on account of grass. Kelly the currier who started on foot for Terry came back last night, having run against

30. Camp Cloud Peak was just a new name for the camp on Goose Creek. The camp was dominated by an almost "picnic-like atmosphere" at this time. According to Lt. T. H. Capron, liquor was flowing about camp on July 14. Luhn became embroiled in a "Bitter personal quarrel" with another officer, identified by Capron only as Crittenden (possibly Lieutenant Albert B.). Their differences were settled the same day. James T. King, "General Crook at Camp Cloud Peak," *Journal of the West*, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 120; and Capron, *op. cit.*, July 14, 1876.

Indians near the Rosebud,³¹ so it seems that Mr. Sitting Bull has gone back to the, or near the same place where we fought him on the 17th of June, he did go to the Big Horn mountains after the Custer and Reno fight, our camp is only about 3 miles from the main range, we are about 40 miles from the Rosebud but the way we will have to march to get there will be @ least 50 miles, Spencer with the Yute Indians about 50 in number is expected to day and the 5th Cavelry is looked for about the 28th they may come by Fetterman I hope the will so that we can get a paper mail. 3 Crow Indians came in last evening from Terrys with dispatches duplicate to those brought by the three soldiers of the 7th Infantry. Our men are in good health and as we have skirmish drill daily they will I have no doubt do all we can expect of them. You better make some preparation for new under cloths for me, when I get through with this campaign the wont be worth much. Kiss the Children for me, and that God will bless you all is the prayer of your Affectionate Husband G L Luhn

Sergt Rousell [Russell] gave me 30.00 dollars I wish you would pay that sum to his wife

Camp on South fork of Tannge river
July 22d

We moved camp yesterday to this stream, which was about five miles from out last camp, the tents were scarsely pitched when Jim Harwood and Hodge came into camp, with the mail and I am so much pleased with your good long letter and the news paper clippings. They have been much sought after, they came for them from the Cavelry camp, you are such a good thoughtfull Wife, I will kiss you for your kindness when I get home, just think, Chambers told his Wife to cut clippings out of news papers 'and here I get all the clippings and he dont get any, dont you say anything about it, but he was real angry about it. The next thing now we are looking forward to is Spencer with the Yutes and the 5th Cavelry. I return the Rosebud fight, you may want to send it to your Father or William Now Dearest kiss the Children for me and I trust that I may soon see you all again in good Health, I doubt if the Indians will stand to give us a fight

Your Luke

31. After trying several times, Kelly apparently did get through to General Terry. Finerty, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.

Camp on South Tannge River
Sunday morning July 23d 1876

My Wife & Children

I just learned that Jim Harwood or some Currier would go out this P.M. I have nothing new to tell you. I expect this will be the last currier before the 5th come and I expect that we will be on the trail of Sitting Bull soon after, I shall write up my diary to the day we leave and cut it out of the book and put it into an Envelope leave it with Capt Fury [Furey] Q.M. to send to you by first opertunity.³² This is a beautifull country for summer camping the streams are like Blacks fork ice cold, and plenty of trout. I dont go fishing myself, I buy all the fish [illegible] for our Mess from the Snake Indians, they are good fisherman, and catch plenty. The Indians have Horse races every evening when the take there war Horses to keep them in condition, they run them up and down for about one hour, then the Indians go to camp and have there regular evening dance and song. The sometimes keep us awakè, of late they have kept there paw waw up so late, now Darling kiss the children for me. dont be alarmed about me if a Currier should come and not bring a letter from me. The command is so large that Curriers are sent off very quietly sometimes,

Your Affectionate Husband
G. L. Luhn

Between July 23 and August 2 Luhn wrote no known letters to his wife. In the interval he became increasingly bored with idle camp life while the command awaited further reinforcements from the Fifth Cavalry. He wrote in his diary that, "I am getting tired of this thing, although I must say, I have not felt better for years, and all our Companis are in excellent trim for battle if we are to have it, it would certainly be much better if he [Sitting Bull] will stand and deside the question in a good battle than to run after him all summer and probably have a winter campaign."

Camp on Tannge River Aug 2d 8 P.M.

My Dear Wife

Four scouts of Col Merritts command came in about ½ hour ago. Col. Merritt is on goose creek about 15 miles from here we move camp tomorrow about 15 miles from here where Merritt will

32. This was not done, although on August 8, Luhn started to keep two diaries with the same objective apparently in mind.

join us, and I guess by the or on the 5th we will no doubt be on the road after S.B. we have had scouts out for several days but cant learn anything defenet as to the whereabouts of S.B. but the general impression is that his tribes have scatterd.³³ All the news I have I have written in Williams letter, I receivd yours with the telegram and Robinsons letter, I am myself satisfied that we wont bring S.B. to battle this year, so I think I will run my risk, it seams extortion to charge \$250.00 extra if the means \$250.00 including my present primium I guess we better pay it, you suit yourself, as I said before I think we wont have much to fear from the Indians this fall, . . . Aug 4th marched 22 miles yesterday, we leave our train here and go with pack mules from here I think to morrow, the 5th joined us last evening, I recd lots of letters from my dear Wife, and the box such a treat. I wish all men had such wives, you are so thoughtfull, it is almost painfull for me to receive so much and some nothing. I am very buisy to day getting my Company ready. I expect Plummer will be assigned to my company, for duty in the field.³⁴ I pray that God will keep my Darling Wife & children in good Health Your Affectionate Husband Luke Tell your Father to get the daily N. Y. Times of 13th of July it gives the truest account of the Rosebud battle, Currier is going give "R" [Robinson] his letter and send Wm. his. I kiss you and children God bless you we are off at 4 AM tomorrow

Luke

Mouth Powder River on the Yellow Stone
Aug. 18th 1876

My Dear Wife and Children

I expect by the time this makes you we will be on our way home, or to the Redcloud Agency. We left our wagon train on the goose Creek on the morning of the 5th inst with 15 days rations one blanket and one overcoat to Officers & men. The men had to carry one days rations and 100 rounds of Amunition on there persons, and the Officers had to carry four days rations and there blanket & overcoat on there Horse, we went to the Rosebud, our old battle field and the suroundings was burnt off we camped about 10 miles below, and marched down the creek, and went through were the Indians had there Viliage the time of the Rosebud fight it was about 3 miles in lenght, and that day struck there trail, which we

33. The hostile tribes were breaking up and scattering. They apparently had been doing so since the Custer battle. George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937), pp. 274-275.

34. The man in question is probably Second Lieutenant Satterlee C. Plummer of the Fourth Infantry.

followed until we met about 10 A.M. and both commands went into camp,³⁵ we replenished our rations to 15 days again and Terry took that many days for his command also on Pack animals, next morning we took up the trail again which led to Tannge River and then down Tannge within 35 miles of Yellow Stone, to Powder River, when we got to Powder we were about 50 miles from Yellow Stone which we were anxious to see on account of two or three steamboats that were supposed to be there, we followed the trail down the Powder, to the Yellow stone, and found that several small trails turn off towards the Agency, still the main trail run to the Yellow stone and keeps down the right bank for quite a distance and scatters again and suposition now is that all the the Agency Indians have gone to the Agency, and that Sitting Bull and Crasy Horses people have crossed the M. O. River, everything shows that the will not give us another fight, many of the Cavelry horses are giving out, three days ago the Cav. abandond seven Horses, we had rain four days in succession, one night while asleep the watter got under me and I got Rumatishm in my right hip, and for four days I was hardly able to get into or out of the saddle, I am quite well again I ride except when my Company is in the lead, and as it was in the lead I marched 29 miles, so you may know that I feel pritty well. we found one steamer here the *Far West*, she has gone to Bring up suplies or down which Terry left at the mouth of the Rosebud, we expect to get a few extra stores from Terrys Com. we have had nothing since the 5th inst but Coffee bacon and hard bread, which we cook in all manner ways which our utensils permit, I have a Coffe pot, a quart tin cup and a spoon & my Hunting knife which is all, I would give \$2½ a quart for some of that good soup you used to cook, but never mind, if God will only spare our health I intend to make up for lost time next winter, I went down the Yellow Stone this morning had a wash, and put on a Clean pair of drawers & socks, I carried an extra pair of each, I have no under-shirt except what I have on, the river watter is very muddy and I am afraid to have it washed still I see no other chance, the Sutler has undershirts but charges four dollars for them which I do not intend to pay, with much love to you and children and ever so many kisses, and trusting I will see you all within a month I remain your affectionate Husband

Luke Luhn

I saw Powell of the 6th Inf he is in Terrys command

35. With the addition of the Fifth Cavalry to the expedition on August 3, the command numbered over 2000 men. When Terry finally joined Crook, the combined commands had over 4000 men. Schmitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 200, 202.

Various rumors were running throughout the camp at this time. On August 10, Luhn erroneously noted in his diary that, "S. B. [Sitting Bull] is Safe enough now—S. B. reported killed as coming from his sister who is married to a half-breed @ Ft. Lincoln."

Luhn was also becoming increasingly tired of his duty. On August 15 he wrote that he was "still suffering very much . . . I dont know where this thing will end I aught to be home."

The pressures on all the men were great and one example serves to illustrate this. As early as July 25, Captain Avery B. Cain of the Fourth Infantry showed signs of being insane. One of the reporters with the expedition, Robert E. Strahorn, has written that Cain, who ate in the same mess as Luhn and Strahorn, at one time violently insisted "upon limiting our food to chow-chow pickles." On August 19 Cain was removed from the expedition on the steamer *Far West* and returned to his home in the East.³⁶

After leaving the supply train on August 5 with fifteen days rations, the column faced forced marches, long hours, adverse weather and limited food supplies. All of these factors contributed to the suffering, and this part of the campaign soon came to be known as the "starvation march" or "horse-meat march." By early September, Crook found himself to be as much in search of supplies as he was Indians. Difficult as the situation was, most of the men did hold up and a good sense of humor served to make things more bearable. At one time Luhn and Strahorn stood in the rain dividing their last spoonful of beans. As Strahorn tells it, "I held the spoon in one hand with my revolver threateningly flourished in the other." Luhn, similarly armed, "with utmost decision drew his bowie knife through the beans indicating our respective proportions." Luhn and Strahorn then ate the last of their beans, all the while flourishing their revolvers, to the amusement of everyone watching them.³⁷

Following a minor battle with the Indians at Slim Buttes on September 9, Luhn again wrote his wife, bringing her up to date on what had been happening.

Owl Creek Dakota Ter
Sept 10th 1876

My Dear Wife & Children

I wont write much as I expect to be home by last of this month, we have done some great marching since we left the train, and men

36. Robert E. Strahorn, *Ninety Years of Boyhood*, MS, Caldwell: College of Idaho, 1942, pp. 173-174; Luhn diary entries for July 25 and August 19, 1876.

37. Strahorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201; See also Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

& Officers have had very rough time, which would take me to long to explain now, we joined Terry on the Rosebud about the 13th of August,³⁸ he was traveling with his wagon train in luxury & plenty where we had no shelter of any kind but overcoat and two blankets, Terry sent his train back and also started with pack mules we followed Indian trail to Tannge, to Powder where it split all up into small parties, we went to Yellow Stone River and got rations from Terrys Steamboats, and started again towards Little M. O. River not an Indian could we see, now our rations began to get low again and we had to go to Lincoln in the M. O. River or to the black hills Dead wood and some other small places where somebody said we could get rations, the greatest distance was Dead wood but Genl Crook desided to go there and we started making 30 and as high as 34 miles on half rations, on the 8th horse meat was issued in place of other meat,³⁹ when we were about 100 miles Dead wood Mills with 150 men 5 officers and thirty five pack mules were sent in ahead to make forced marches when they got about half way they came upon an Indian Villiage of 35 lodges Captured the entire Villiage and suplies about 175 ponies they dried meat amounted to enough to fead this command for two days, we have nothing now of any kind of rations but this dried meat. To night another party goes in for rations, and I hope we will get them soon, I think I can hold out three days longer without eating Horse meat, I foresaw this thing and saved some pork, we get our ration the same as they men, some of the Officers have allready eaten Horse meat, all the particulars I can give you now of the Capture of the Indian Villiage is, that we lost two killed and 8 or 10 slightly wounded, Van Lutwitz [Von Leutwitz] was shot in the knee and his leg was amputated yesterday, he feals pritty well to day, The Indians lost about 32 of which 7 are prisoners, and the balance killed American Horse was badly wounded and died last night. Mills attacked the Villiage about 5 in the morning when he was 16 miles only ahead of us the main Collumn as soon as he had taken the Villiage he sent Courier to Crook, Mills was afraid another Villiage might be near and come with those escaped and give him a trashing, and retake there stock, we pushed along as fast as we

38. It was on August 10. The two columns traveled together until August 23. *The Field Diary of General Alfred H. Terry*, (Bellevue: The Old Army Press, 1970), p. 31; Schmitt, *op. cit.*, p. 204; Bourke, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-362. The Indian allies had left the command on August 20 because of the lack of action or activity.

39. Like everyone else, Luhn found the idea of eating horse meat to be repulsive. On September 8 he wrote in his diary, "during the day several Horses that had given out were shot by the men and the best cuts of meat taken from them, our men were still in good spirrets, I saw two Cav. men cutting at an old horse, when the Inf Collumn came up, and our men would mimic the Buzzard."

could, it was a stormy morning and hard marching we reached the Villiage about 12 n, it had cleared up, I had had my dinner, and had taken a wash the first one for seven days, and was putting on my blouse, when the alarm was given and Indian were in all directions, all the Infantry were sent out, and we must have surprised the Indians we could not get them nearer then 800 or 1000 yds. the evedently expected to find Mills with his 5 companis only in place they found about 1800 soldiers it was well for Mills we were there, as they would have been to many for his 150 men. My love to you all Dear Katie I never felt better, but want to go home to get clean cloths and something to eat

Yours & Luke

Camp on White wood Creek
15 miles from Crook City Sept 15th 1876

My Dear Wife and Children

I hope our hardship is nearly over we arived on the Bell[e] Fourche a river about the size of the Laramie on the 13th after making a march from 5 a.m. until 10 P.M. 38 miles on nothing but jerked Venison captured from the Indians and Horse meat over a soft alkalie country it having rained for six consecutive days, the mud would stick to the mens feet so that they would look like twice its natural size, men were strung all along the road a Co Cavelry was sent out next morning to pick them up, I have not slept in a dry blanket until last night for 10 days, the men marched 180 miles on just 2½ days half rations and one days ¼ ration and Horse meat and jerked venison, I inspected my mens stockings last night, and found 45 men out of 50 that had no stockings at all and the other five were full of holes, men had there feet wrapped up with pieces of blankets and other rags, about the time we got into camp on the 13th a Beef herd and three wagons with Com. stores came in and Beef flour Coffe sugar and bacon were issued, also a Sutler or two came in and such cooking and eating I never saw, Bubb came back from the town of Dead Wood this morning,⁴⁰ and will have 20 more wagons with Com in this day. Bubb left us on the road to go in and buy suplies, I never saw such a raged dirty set of looking men and Officers. I started with a pice of soap and a towel, owing to the constant rain I lost my soap and consequently only washed 3 times in 180 miles, my last wash was at Rabit Creek about 4 P.M. and was just putting on my blouse when the Indians tried to jump us I got my Overcoat on in a hurry,

40. Lieutenant John W. Bubb was the Acting Commissary of Subsistence for the column, Vaughn, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

and all the Infantry remained out until dark, Mr Strahorn fortunately remained in camp, and we had a shank of Antelope he cooked it and when I got in I made the best tasting meat of my life I do belive, We do not know what is going to be done now some say we are going in if that is the case I will be home in about 25 days or 30, but no one can tell what Crook is going to do, unless he is orderd to bring us in he may keep us for two months more, thank God through all this hardship, my health has been splendid with exception of about for days Rumatism and 2 days Nuralogy, We have now had three curiers within the last 24 hours, Crook is going in and has turned the command over to Genl Merrit [Merritt] and I believe now that we will go home as fast as we can march in, we are about 290 miles from Fetterman so that with the usual delays we aught to be home by the 10th of October, I will tell you all the news when I get home . . . much love to you all

Your Luke many kisses

Luhn's great hope for returning to Fort Fetterman at an early date was not realized. It was not until October 24, 1876, at Red Cloud Agency, that the expedition was disbanded and Luhn and his company were ordered to return to Fetterman.

On November 2 they were approaching Fort Fetterman. Three miles from the post Luhn saw something approaching, "some mounted more afoot all mixed up when I got nearer I found they were all children. My son Henry . . . having the best mount was in Command."⁴¹

So it was that the soldiers of Company F, Fourth United States Infantry, were welcomed home by their children. The Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition was over, but what had it accomplished? In a military sense it was a failure. Crook, forced to abandon the field, had lost, or at best come out even, against the Indians at the Rosebud. His only real military victory was at Slim Buttes on September 9.

His failures, however, mattered little. Later expeditions would mean a series of defeats for the plains Indians. Forced to surrender, return to the reservations, or die trying to fight, the Indian would, within 15 years, be completely subjugated to white rule.

41. Luhn diary, *op. cit.*, October 24, 1876 and Autobiography, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

The Parting of the Ways on the Oregon Trail—the East Terminal of the Sublette Cutoff

By

DAVID E. MILLER

An examination of numerous diaries kept by overlanders during the decade following the 1844 opening of the Greenwood-Sublette Cutoff (usually now referred to as the Sublette Cutoff) convinced me some years ago that the present "Parting of the Ways" historic marker located on Wyoming State Highway 28, some 23 miles northeast of Farson, does not accurately mark the spot where that Cutoff diverted from the original Oregon Trail. Yet the information found on that marker tends to give that impression. Thousands of unwary travelers have stopped at that site, examined the marker and the adjacent terrain and left with a feeling of deep satisfaction, mistakenly feeling that they have visited the true east end of the famous Sublette Cutoff that took most of the California Fortyniners to the gold fields.

In reality, the current marker is placed at the spot where the South Pass City-Green River stage road turned to the left, leaving the Oregon Trail at that point. That fork in the road had nothing to do with the thousands of Oregon-bound migrants, Salt Lake-bound Mormons or California-bound goldrushers who traversed the Oregon Trail long before South Pass City was founded and before stagecoach wheels had left their scars on the landscape.

A majority of the available diaries kept by west-bound migrants are those of the Mormons and goldrushers. All of them wrote of the easy passage over South Pass and expressed joy at the pleasant surroundings of Pacific Spring—they were finally in Oregon Country. Many diarists noted the dangers of the boggy terrain at the spring and reported that cattle, rushing to water and grass, often mired through the springy turf to become hopelessly stuck in the mud below. Stinking, decaying carcasses eventually contaminated the water, rendering it hazardous for human consumption. But drink it they must; there was no other.

After crossing Pacific Creek a mile or so below the spring the trekkers faced a long 25 mile stretch before reaching the next palatable water at Little Sandy Creek. This segment of the trail was probably the most difficult yet encountered. Hundreds of

wagons had pulverized the soft earth into a mass of powder-fine dust reportedly varying from 2 to 6 inches in depth. If the wind was blowing (and it too often was) clouds of biting, choking dust swirled around like blinding snow in a Wyoming blizzard. Most travelers found it necessary to use handkerchiefs over their mouth and nose; a few of the most fortunate had come prepared with goggles. In contrast, an occasional company encountered bitter cold weather in this region. A major snowfall or rainstorm transformed the dusty trail into a quagmire.

Even more important than the dust and/or mud, was the shortage of water and forage for the animals, which were often herded for several miles away from the trail in search of grass. Worst of all was the lack of fresh water. Alkali-infested pools, especially at the Dry Sandy, proved fatal to draft animals already half worn out from too many hours and days pulling the heavy loads. Numerous diaries mention the dozens of stinking carcasses lining the road through this desolate region. Too often the dead animals were left where they had fallen, sometimes actually blocking the track. And in the days when horse power was *real*, the loss of animals was critical, necessitating the discarding of tools, chains, furniture, stoves, bacon and other heavy articles from the overloaded wagons; sometimes even wagons were abandoned.

While plodding along this portion of the trail trekkers had to decide which way to go—over the original Oregon Trail by way of Fort Bridger, or by way of the Sublette Cutoff which would cut an estimated 75 miles from the seemingly endless road. Most of the traffic, except for the Mormons, chose the Cutoff even though it was known to include a stretch of 35-40 miles (between the Big Sandy and Green Rivers) without water and with very little grass. Many, of course, eager to get to the land of gold, had made the decision long before they reached this region.

Except for the condition of the trail already alluded to, the first major obstacle to be overcome was Dry Sandy Creek. Although not always "dry," its alkali waters constituted a major hazard. Relatively little trouble was experienced in crossing it.

Six miles beyond the Dry Sandy was the Parting of the Ways—the east end of the Sublette Cutoff, 19.5 measured miles west of South Pass; approximately 9.5 miles west of the point where present Highway 28 crosses the old Oregon Trail. It is located near the center of Section 4:T.26N,R.104W., three miles due north of Highway 28, measured from a point 13 miles northeast of Farson. While most diarists simply estimated the distances, some (such as William Clayton) had accurate roadometers attached to their wagons and could thus report the exact distances from water to water. Distances recorded in Clayton's *Emigrants' Guide* check out perfectly with modern speedometer readings.

Today the route of the old road is easily followed. After crossing Pacific Creek a mile or two below its source the trail strikes a



David E. Miller

TRUE PARTING OF THE WAYS



David E. Miller

PARTING OF THE WAYS MARKER

southwesterly direction, angling gradually to the bench land north of the stream, traversing the location of the present Fremont-Sublette County line about a quarter of a mile south of the point where Wyoming Highway 28 crosses that same boundary. The highway intersects the Oregon Trail right at the southeast corner of the fenced area now improperly designated as the "Parting of the Ways." The old road parallels the present highway for nearly a mile at that point before swinging to the northwest in order to reach a satisfactory spot where the Dry Sandy could be easily crossed, or forded if the stream happened to be in flood stage as a result of recent storms. The crossing site lies just inside the northeast corner of Section 29:T.27N,R.103W. A Pony Express station was subsequently established at that site. After crossing the Dry Sandy the trail keeps to the high ground north of that stream for six miles to reach the true *Parting of the Ways*. At that point the Mormons took the left fork and most of the California and Oregon-bound migrants kept to the right.

During the heyday of the overland traffic many signposts and other informational markers of various kinds were left at the junction, bearing messages to friends who were coming that way—somewhere back along the trail. All would have to pass that point.

Through the years most segments of this portion of the Oregon Trail have been kept open and in use by ranchers and sportsmen. The only difficult spot is the crossing of Dry Sandy Creek which may be troublesome for an inexperienced driver; those with four-wheel-drive vehicles have no trouble at all.

Right in the fork of the trail at the Parting of the Ways is a small stone marker, not more than a foot high into which has been cut "F. BRIDGER" (with an arrow pointing to the left) and "S. CUT OFF" (with a similar arrow pointing to the right). How long that marker has been there and who placed it I do not know, but would be happy to learn. At least, it is located in the proper place.

The Bureau of Land Management has recently placed appropriate markers along this segment of the trail. The accompanying map indicates their locations.

Whatever action would be necessary to correct the information found at the present Parting of the Ways marker and to inform visitors to the site where the true fork in the trail is located is strongly recommended by this writer.

Professor Miller has intentionally kept this article brief, with no quotations or citations from journals, since he is planning a major publication covering the Oregon Trail, and its various branches and cutoffs, between South Pass and Bear River. He hopes to include

with the publication a "more or less accurate" map showing the Sublette Cutoff, Slate Creek Route, Dempsey Cutoff and Kenney Cutoff, as well as fords and ferries over the Green River. Field work for the trails project is being supported by a grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. (Editor).

New Deal Art in Wyoming: Some Case Studies

By

H. R. DIETERICH AND JACQUELINE PETRAVAGE

We now recognize the significance of those New Deal programs that encouraged and supported art and artists during the depression years of the 1930s.¹ At a critical time these measures sustained a host of painters, musicians and writers, fostered a creative productivity that cut across all the fine arts. The programs laid the philosophical groundwork for a federal patronage of the arts, an idea that today finds expression in the National Endowment for the Arts and its funded sponsorship of state arts councils. They enhanced the cultural possibilities of American life at a time when the country badly needed such reassurance and they demonstrated ways the government might contribute in such matters. Though unemployment relief was usually (not always) a major element in the programs, they did in fact produce a quantity of lasting art. Our essay deals with this legacy in Wyoming and the context of its creation. In the case studies (below, Part II) some of the problems of depression art and New Deal bureaucracy come into sharp focus. In Part I, we provide a framework for understanding how the New Deal efforts to subsidize art worked, what their objectives were.

I

There were four separate New Deal efforts to underwrite American art and artists. One of these, The Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project, included four major components under the headings of music, painting, drama and writing. This project—the WPA/FAP—was aimed directly at the creation of jobs for the unemployed. Functioning from 1935 to 1943, it was part of the vast public works program to promote economic recovery. The WPA/FAP remains the best known of the four

1. By now the secondary literature on these programs is voluminous. For bibliography, a general discussion of art and the New Deal and for an extension of the material in this essay, see Joel Bernstein, "Government Subsidization of Art during the New Deal," and Jacqueline Petavage, "A Study of Three New Deal Art Projects in Wyoming," both unpublished M.A. theses in American Studies, University of Wyoming, 1963 and 1972.

federal projects, by far the largest and most diverse. Its activities ranged from experimental theater projects and community art centers to the compilation of sources for state and local history, the indexing of native design and folklore materials and of course to the support of artists, writers and musicians in their professional roles. Its impact was cultural in the broadest sense and it remains outside the main focus of this essay.

Preceding the WPA/FAP was the short-lived Public Works of Art Project (PWAP). Administered through the Treasury Department, but funded by the Civil Works Administration, PWAP was a stop-gap and experimental measure. Functioning through the winter of 1933-1934, it never resolved whether "relief" or "art" should come first in its work, though it aimed to provide decoration for public buildings.

Two other art projects emerged from the Treasury Department during the depression years. In 1934 it established a Section of Painting and Sculpture to decorate new federal buildings where money for such art work was included in the congressional appropriation as a small percentage of the building costs. The Section operated until June of 1943. A similar effort was the department's Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP), but in this project funds came from the Works Progress Administration. The idea here was to channel relief moneys into public building decoration and its administrators insisted on recognized talent that was demonstrably unemployed.

In brief, the New Deal art projects emerged from an experimental program (the PWAP) and developed in two directions. The WPA/FAP stressed relief over art and its administrative centers tended to be state and local. The Treasury projects (the Section of Painting and Sculpture and TRAP) emphasized art above relief and were administratively centered in Washington. Each of the programs had its own aims, philosophy and procedures. As each of the four pursued its mission, there emerged 48 separate stories—one for each state—and at the grass-roots level there was finally the experience of a given project carried to completion under the auspices of the federal program.

We know very little about this last transaction between the artist and his governmental employer, yet one must go to this level to answer some crucial questions about the art programs.² Was there censorship? How did the bureaucracy deal with the artist in his

2. Indispensable documentary sources in this matter are in the National Archives, Social and Economic Branch, Record Group 121 [Public Buildings Service]. The Record Group is further divided into entry numbers, with each of these indicating a set of files. Reference to a primary document then is through its description with its group and entry numbers, as in "A to B", date, RG 121/104.

creative activity? What was the reaction of the artist to his being employed by the government? What problems emerged from the context of federally subsidized art? And finally, what is the "history" of those individual art works that remain still to be seen—murals, sculptures and the like?

The art programs found little on which to build in Wyoming. There were few professional artists here and not much interest in the tradition they represented. The entire problem of a federal art patronage was new; with few guidelines, neither artist nor administrator knew quite what to expect. When Frederic Hutchinson Porter assumed the job of director of the PWAP in Wyoming he located both artists and projects and as he recalled, served in the office without pay.³ The first of the federal efforts, PWAP underwrote a handful of Wyoming commissions, all in Cheyenne, where Porter lived and worked. "Bunk" Porter was a well known architect and artist himself. He reported to PWAP's regional director in Denver who in turn was responsible to Edward Bruce, heading the program from within the Treasury Department in Washington. Launched in December, 1933, PWAP was phased out in April, 1934, and officially terminated in June. Porter recalled three projects completed in the several months of his directorship which are confirmed in the agency's records in the National Archives.⁴ These were a mural on the library wall of McCormick Junior High School in Cheyenne, a decorative frieze around the upper walls in the same library and a set of decorations in the dome of the State Capitol.

The mural portrays an episode from the lore of frontier Wyoming—the reading of Shakespeare's work to Scout Jim Bridger. Bridger is reputed to have traded a yoke of oxen for a volume of Shakespeare's plays and to have paid a clerk at Fort Laramie to read the book to him. The mural was conceived and executed by two artists in the Cheyenne area, Libbie Hoffman and Jeanette Kaiser. The same two women worked on the capitol dome, decorating its inner surfaces with gold leafing and replicas of the state and territorial seals.⁵ Archival records in Washington indicate that

3. Interview with co-author Petravage, Cheyenne, November 29, 1971.

4. Frederic Hutchinson Porter interview. He also recalled a fourth project done by his people for which there is no record in the PWAP files. This was an easel painting, now lost along with the name of the artist. On the other hand, PWAP records list a project not recalled by Porter. This was Regional Project #22, a set of drawings for mural decorations in the University library, Laramie. This was included in a roster of projects "undertaken" in Region Eleven sent by George Williamson [Regional Director] to Edward Bruce, April 26, 1934, RG 121/115. Since Williamson used the term "undertaken" and since his report came as PWAP was terminating its projects, we are left with Porter's account of "completed" work.

5. Porter interview, *op. cit.*; Williamson to Edward Bruce, April 23, 1934, RG 121/105.

a third artisan, William Reed of Laramie, also worked for a time on this job.⁶ Porter had suggested the project and had arranged it with state officials. Accompanying the mural in the junior high school was a decorative frieze comprised of names drawn from Western and Wyoming history; the project was done by Frank Stuart Lewis, a local sign painter.⁷

It is accurate but perhaps unfair to dismiss the PWAP with its three jobs in Cheyenne, as an enterprise of little consequence. It is true that only four of the 44 artists employed in Region Eleven were from Wyoming; Colorado accounted for 35 and the Dakotas for five.⁸ But PWAP was an emergency measure. Jobs were needed, and to Porter's credit he met the need with some honestly decorative projects. His painters were treated as artisans; paid by the week rather than by commission, they were categorized first or second class much as unemployed craftsmen were classified in the broader relief program, the CWA. Their weekly pay ranged from \$26.50 to \$42.50. Porter took a personal interest in his projects, offering suggestions and criticisms to his artists. However, PWAP lasted less than six months; its relief overtones reappeared in the all-encompassing WPA and somewhat later in the Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP).

TRAP was organized in July, 1935, an agency in the Treasury Department, but funded from the relief-oriented Works Progress Administration. Unlike PWAP, this project was administratively centered in Washington. TRAP's aim was to shift artistic talent from local relief rolls to projects built around the decoration of federal buildings. Olin Dows, Chief of TRAP in Washington, worked through local volunteer advisors who were invited to suggest projects and unemployed artists of recognized ability. The arrangement was awkward and insistence upon first-rate artists, who were demonstrably on relief, limited the program's potential. When Dows wrote to Porter in Cheyenne, the one-time head of PWAP in Wyoming indicated his willingness to help with suggestions; he noted there was "quite a little talent" in Wyoming but was uncertain about how much of this would be available from relief rolls.⁹ Dows thanked Porter and went on to acknowledge that lists he had received from other state advisors were disappointing. "Almost all artists are needy and are in need of employment," he

6. "Projects File", RG 121/5.

7. Porter interview, *op. cit.*; Williamson to Forbes Watson, April 13, 1934, RG 121/106.

8. PWAP Report to Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, in "Extra Copy" file, RG 121/105. The report covers the over-all activities of PWAP, from its inception to its end in 1934. The agency worked through 16 regions, those of its parent organization, the Civil Works Administration.

9. Frederic Hutchinson Porter to Olin Dows, August 28, 1935, RG 121/119.

admitted, but it appeared to him that few good artists were actually on relief.¹⁰ To the head of the art department at the University of Wyoming in Laramie, Dows echoed the problem; there were plenty of federal buildings that needed decoration, but finding artists for the work was another matter.¹¹ TRAP files in the National Archives indicate that the project earnestly tried but could not identify any artists in Wyoming for support. So burdened by a policy that mixed unemployment relief with quality art, TRAP lasted three years. In 1938 it was dissolved as an expendable duplication of WPA efforts.

It remained for another agency within the Treasury Department to demonstrate the feasibility of a genuine federal art patronage. The Treasury Section of Painting and Sculpture was established in the fall of 1934. (In October 1938, it was renamed the Section of Fine Arts.) Its administrators in Washington, Edward Bruce, its chief, and Edward Rowan and Forbes Watson, his assistants, were clear in what they wanted and unhampered by the relief requirements of TRAP.¹² Bruce's organization sought the best decorative art it could find for the embellishment of new federal buildings. It expected this work to reflect the themes and style of the American scene, with a hope that it would strike a responsive chord in the general public. Working with the architectural plans for new buildings, the Section made suggestions for decoration and sought to earmark a portion of the building costs for art work.

The Treasury Section used no local intermediaries; its officials dealt directly with the artist himself who was usually picked in competition with other artists. If the commission was a major one, involving \$5000 or more, the Treasury Section conducted a national competition; for smaller projects, local or regional contests sufficed. When the reservoir of artists was small (as in Wyoming) and where the money allocated for the art work was minimal, commissions often went to those whose work had ranked well in earlier competitions. Within its over-all objectives, the agency had considerable discretion in these matters. The artist was paid in installments, usually three, as his work progressed from preliminary drawings to the finished product. His contract with the government stipulated that a photographic record of the work be submitted to the Washington office. Through the sketches, scale color drawings and photographs the Section in Washington followed the project, making suggestions and criticisms along the way.¹³

10. Dows to Porter, August 31, 1935, RG 121/119.

11. Dows to E. E. Lowry, October 3, 1935, RG 121/119.

12. Bruce and Watson had been key federal personnel in the PWAP experiment.

13. This complete pictographic record adds a unique dimension to the history of the Treasury Section.

II

In the nine years of its operation, the Treasury Section underwrote about 1100 major decorative projects; six of these were executed in Wyoming. These included murals for the post offices of Kemmerer, Worland, Powell, Greybull and Riverton and a sculpture for the post office in Yellowstone Park.

Kemmerer

In July, 1937, the Section invited Eugene Kingman to submit plans for a set of murals to decorate the post office in Kemmerer, Wyoming. The commission was a small one—\$660— and Kingman's earlier work, submitted in competition for work at Mesa Verde National Park, brought him the job. The artist journeyed to Kemmerer, surveyed the locale, decided on the subject matter for his murals and then went to Providence, Rhode Island, to work out sketches and scale drawings for his painting. He was allotted 216 days to complete the work and the commission was to include all costs.¹⁴

Kingman chose for his murals scenes illustrating the fossil beds around Kemmerer, their excavation and the kinds of prehistoric life found in them. Working his ideas into pilot drawings, the artist found it necessary to satisfy the Treasury Section people as well as himself. The work went through several revisions; at one point, the Washington office wrote the artist as follows:

Your revision has been studied by the members of the Section and it is our feeling that by placing the figure where you have, you have sacrificed some of the drama of the original design. . . . It is our suggestion that you move the new figure much farther down in the composition on a diagonal leading from left to right.¹⁵

The artist accepted the suggestions and by June of 1938 his work was completed. The murals installed, Kingman was pleased with his work and local reaction to it. "I wasn't sure how much of an appeal dinosaurs would make for these people," he wrote to Edward Rowan in Washington, but he added he was speaking to the local Lions club that evening on the whole business of the murals and the work that had gone into them.¹⁶ Kemmerer's postmaster, Andrew Morrow, was enthusiastic in his praise of the

14. Edward Rowan to Director of Procurement, July 2, 1937; Eugene Kingman to Rowan, August 9 and September 23, 1937; Rowan to Kingman, October 5, 1937; Kingman contract, October 27, 1937, RG 121/133. All documents pertaining to Treasury Section commissions in Wyoming are included in this group and file; its designation is implicit in all documentation which follows.

15. Rowan to Kingman, March 23, 1938. Suggestions from Washington came earlier as well; Rowan to Kingman, October 12, 1937.

16. June 5, 1938.



H. R. Dieterich

"CRETACEOUS LANDSCAPE"

One of three murals in the Kemmerer Post Office

paintings. The artist had put in long hours to see that the work was done as it should be, and his cooperative spirit had also impressed Morrow. "It was a pleasure to know such a man and to see his work," he wrote. The murals centered on a subject of local interest and they had already received much favorable comment. *The Kemmerer Gazette* echoed the postmaster in an article describing the paintings and commending the artist "on his talented work."¹⁷ Kingman himself thought the incorporation of geological motifs into the mural had been a most interesting problem to work out. Three years later, then Director of the Philbrook Art Museum in Tulsa, he asked the section for some of his preliminary Kemmerer drawings; he planned to use them in lectures on the problems of mural painting.¹⁸

Worland

In November, 1937, the Section invited Louise Ronnebeck of Denver, Colorado, to submit sketches for a mural in the Worland post office. The agency had hoped to find a Wyoming artist for the job, someone who had placed well in regional competitions;

17. Andrew Morrow to Rowan, June 14, 1938; *Gazette* clipping, dated June 10, 1938.

18. Kingman to Bruce, June 21, 1938; Kingman to Rowan, March 12, 1941.

one had materialized and the Denver artist was picked on the basis of her sketches for an El Paso, Texas, competition.¹⁹ The Worland commission was for \$570 and the artist was allowed 119 days for its completion. The Section wrote Ronnebeck that the mural called for a "simple and vital design" based on a theme appropriate to the locale.²⁰ She submitted four sketches to the Washington office; of these one that depicted the Indian and pioneer past as displaced by an economy of oil, ranching and irrigation seemed most acceptable. Ronnebeck had not visited Worland but had corresponded with the postmaster there about an appropriate subject matter for the mural.²¹ She worked on her painting in the late spring of 1938 (the contract was dated 1 February 1938), completing it in June of that year. In the course of the commission she spent a good deal of effort explaining and defending her conceptions to the Washington office. The problem centered about the artist's treatment of the mythic and historic elements of her painting—Indians, bison—which she wished to incorporate as a kind of dream background in the mural. At one point she called on a professional acquaintance, the director of the Denver Art Museum, for support and he wrote that her attack on the general problem was both original and promising.²² The continual suggestions from Washington were phrased with tact and with an obvious effort to leave final decisions with the artist but the correspondence suggests that the Section took even a small commission quite seriously. Nor did the artist take offense at the suggestions. Having submitted sketches to an architectural firm in Denver (the concern had been favorably impressed by her Worland design) she assured the Section that its commission came first. The Denver firm liked her work but its client was reluctant to add the expense of her decoration; "What would the artists do without the government?" she concluded.²³

Once the mural was installed, Rowan wrote from Washington that he was glad the artist had persisted in her ideas and that her painting had combined elements of fantasy and reality "quite successfully." Ronnebeck noted that the mural seemed to please the people of Worland and that she had much enjoyed carrying out the commission; its execution seemed to have added to her reputa-

19. Memoranda to Director of Procurement, April 8 and November 8, 1937.

20. Rowan to Louise Ronnebeck, November 9, 1937.

21. Ronnebeck to Rowan, November 16 and December 30, 1937.

22. Donald Bear to Rowan, April 1, 1938; the dialogue of suggestion and rejoinder between patron and artist can be followed in letters from Rowan to Ronnebeck, January 17, February 14 and March 23, 1938, and from Ronnebeck to Rowan March 31, and April 17, 1938.

23. Ronnebeck to Rowan, June 4, 1938.

tion as an artist, she added in a final letter. From Worland, the postmaster endorsed her work, pleased with the favorable comment on it and certain that it was a "real addition" to the building.²⁴

Powell

The mural in the Powell post office was completed in December, 1938, the work of a professional artist who had done similar work for post offices in Montana and North Carolina, and who had shown her work in various art exhibitions. Verona Burkhard received the Powell commission on the basis of designs she had submitted in the Dallas, Texas, post office competition. Trained in the east and from a family of artists, Ms. Burkhard lived at the Klondike Ranch near Buffalo when she received the \$880 Powell commission.²⁵ Visiting Powell in July, 1938, the artist determined that the theme for her painting would be local agricultural and livestock production as these were linked to the Shoshone Irrigation Project. Preliminary drawings and sketches met the approval of the Section in Washington but in the course of the work its officials made minor suggestions to the artist concerning composition and balance.²⁶ Again, Rowan, representing the Washington office, was careful to suggest rather than direct; do not incorporate our suggestion he wrote in one letter "unless you yourself are convinced that it adds interest to the composition."²⁷ As the artist finished her work, she described reactions to it.

The mural looks much better than the color sketch, and all the stockmen that have seen it think the animals are just right. I realize that most of the people here know little or nothing about painting, however. I have tried my best to put quality and good painting in this work—as well as make it understandable to the layman.²⁸

On receiving a photograph of the finished work, Rowan complimented the artist on her handsome painting, a sentiment that was echoed in a letter from the assistant postmaster in Powell. The artist concluded her work with a note of appreciation for the job and the hope that she might secure another similar assignment.²⁹

24. Rowan to Ronnebeck, June 18, 1938; Ronnebeck to Rowan, June 25 and July 11, 1938; P. F. McClure to Rowan, July 11, 1938. (The painting was transferred to the new Casper post office when the old Worland post office became excess to the needs of the government in the 1960s.)

25. Memoranda to Director of Procurement, January 12 and June 7, 1938, "Mural Painting by Verona Burkhard."

26. Rowan to Verona Burkhard, July 11 and July 12, 1938; Burkhard to Rowan, July 26, 1938.

27. Rowan to Burkhard, October 18, 1938.

28. Burkhard to Rowan, December 2, 1938.

29. Rowan to Burkhard, December 7, 1938; Lowell O. Stephens to Rowan, December 27, 1938; Burkhard to Rowan, December 28, 1938.



H. R. Dieterich

"CHUCK WAGON SERENADE"
Greybull Post Office Mural

Greybull

In June, 1939, the Treasury Section conducted a national competition from which 48 paintings were selected, one for a post office commission in each of the states. The December 4th issue of *Life* magazine carried a brief story on the contest and reproduced the 48 winning designs. Manuel Bromberg's painting, "Chuck Wagon Serenade," was picked for Wyoming's new post office in Greybull; Bromberg, a 22-year-old artist studying at the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, had exhibited his painting widely and had done murals for the Section in both Oklahoma and Illinois.³⁰ The Greybull commission was for \$840 and with the *Life* article, Greybull residents had a preview of their new mural. From civic clubs in Greybull came notes of protest, the tone of which is indicated by this excerpt:

Many exceptions have been taken to the proposed mural. Including such things, as the peculiar looking individuals supposed to be cowboys, the background of rather uncertain description and the lack of any feeling to the picture.³¹

30. "Mural Painting by Manuel A. Bromberg," (memo); "Information for preparation of Bromberg contract" (memo).

31. Joseph Spangler (Greybull Lions Club) to W. W. Howes (postmaster general's office) December 9, 1939. The Greybull Club, too, had protested in a letter, W. A. Simpson to Public Buildings Administration, December 5, 1939.

Unlike the other Section commissions done in Wyoming, the Bromberg painting had no direct link with the immediate locale; a prairie scene of cowboys singing to the accompaniment of harmonica and guitar, the mural was the product of the artist's own imagination. The theme is universal rather than local, the figures stylized, not overtly realistic. Writing from Washington, Rowan came to the defense of the painting. To one of the critics he pointed out that it had been chosen in a competition "open to every American artist," that its design was truly distinguished and that its details could, of course, be tailored to the Wyoming locale.³² Made aware of the tensions, Bromberg assured Rowan that he would strive to win over the local people and that he would be "extremely cautious with the authenticity of the costumes and the region."³³

Thanks to his prize-winning design, Bromberg worked with few suggestions from Washington. The mural was first exhibited at the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center and when he had seen pictures of it, Rowan commended the artist; "The work seems to us authentic in feeling, beautiful in painting quality, vital in design and distinctive in mood."³⁴ The mural was installed on September 4, 1940; the postmaster thought it a "real work of art", and that it would be appreciated by most of the people in the area.³⁵ Bromberg too was pleased with the outcome:

The entire staff of the post office have been more than kind and happy about the mural; they assisted me no end with the installation. The postmaster is delighted and the natives of the Town, as much as I could gather from their comments seemed more than satisfied. Which makes for a happy ending.³⁶

Not so happy a note was the young artist's economic plight. Correspondence with the Section in the course of the commission suggests that his financial status was most precarious. The first segment of his commission pay he used to cover old debts; the Greybull assignment itself had kept him from qualifying for local relief payments, yet on a day-to-day basis he was without "financial sustenance."³⁷ In a final letter to Rowan, the artist sketched a situation which plagued many artists during the depression:

At this point I am tempted to burden you with personal troubles (financial) I realize that you must receive many such letters. So when I say I am in great need of the final payment and another

32. Rowan to W. A. Simpson, December 15, 1939.

33. Manuel A. Bromberg to Rowan, December 28, 1939.

34. Rowan to Bromberg August 22, 1940.

35. Fred W. Chamberlin to Supervising Architect, September 5, 1940.

36. Bromberg to Rowan, September 9, 1940.

37. Bromberg to Rowan, February 10, 1940; also Bromberg to Rowan, August 16, 1940.

commission I know you won't take it too lightly. Believe me it irks me to annoy you about such matters. . . ."³⁸

Riverton

On February 10, 1942, the Treasury Section invited George Vander Sluis of Colorado Springs to submit designs for a mural that would go in the Riverton post office. The 13x6 foot painting, completed some eight months later was the last Treasury Section job done in Wyoming. Vander Sluis was picked for the \$850



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RIVERTON POST OFFICE MURAL

Riverton assignment on the basis of an entry he had submitted for a Denver mural competition.³⁹ By this time, the country was involved in the war, a fact that intruded on the Riverton commission in two ways. The artist was pressed to complete his work before military induction and the Section itself was unsure of its mission, in the new war-time setting. Rowan advised the artist to contact the postmaster and citizenry at Riverton regarding suitable subject matter and "to learn of their attitude toward proceeding with a mural decoration in their federal building at this time."⁴⁰ Sentiment favored the work and the postmaster suggested as an appropriate theme for the painting the farm and livestock

38. Bromberg to Rowan, September 9, 1940.

39. Rowan to George Vander Sluis, February 10, 1942.

40. Rowan to Vander Sluis, February 11, 1942.

industry of the locale.⁴¹ In May the Section approved the color sketches with only minor suggestions and in September the mural was completed. Rowan liked the artist's work; "There is a nice stamp of authority in the presentation of the sheep in this painting which can come only from serious observation."⁴² From Riverton, Postmaster J. E. Smith wrote that "the work seems to have been very satisfactorily done and is being admired by the patrons to a quite considerable extent."⁴³ The war provided a post script to the commission. In November the artist, now in uniform and writing from his post in Maryland, told Rowan he would accept an invitation to visit at Rowan's home, but passes were restricted. "When I do get the chance I will call you. Am becoming a soldier and I hope to be a good one."⁴⁴

Yellowstone Park

Fronting the post office at Mammoth Hot Springs in the Park are a pair of carved stone grizzly bear cubs. The two animals are the work of Mrs. Gladys Fisher, a Denver artist who completed the commission for the Treasury Section between 1939 and 1941. A native of Colorado, she had studied professionally in New York and Paris, and when invited to do the Park sculpture she had already completed a similar decoration for the entrance of the Denver post office. In its invitation to Mrs. Fisher, the Section outlined the commission: the sculptures were to be of animals characteristic of the Park; the medium, stone or artificial stone; the total allocation, \$2000.⁴⁵ The artist gathered her information. She suggested the bear as an appropriate animal and urged that carved, rather than cast stone, be used. Her cost estimated exceeded that of the allocation by about \$500 however, and though "terribly interested" she was reluctant to undertake the job.⁴⁶ A further exchange with the Section made clear that the allocation could not be raised and the artist agreed to work the problem out in her second choice, artificial stone.⁴⁷ She submitted sketches and obtained bids on the materials, in the course of which she determined that using Indiana limestone and working from small scale models she could avoid the cast stone alternative and just "break even."⁴⁸ The Section was pleased with the preliminaries but at this point circumstances disrupted the artist's work. An emergency

41. Vander Sluis to Rowan, March 5, 1942.

42. Rowan to Vander Sluis, September 24, 1942.

43. J. E. Smith to Rowan, October 27, 1942.

44. Vander Sluis to Rowan, December 1, 1942.

45. Inslee A. Hopper (Consultant to Chief, Treasury Section) to Gladys Fisher, March 30, 1939; Fisher biographical memo.

46. Fisher to Hopper, April 20, 1939.

47. Hopper to Fisher, May 9, 1939; Fisher to Hopper, May 12, 1939.

48. Fisher to Hopper, August 4, 1939.

appendectomy and subsequent complications kept Mrs. Fisher from work on the commission for about six months.⁴⁹ Despite the delay, the section held the commission for her; in February with her scale models completed and approved, she received her formal contract. Paid in installments as each of the three-and-a-quarter ton sculptures was set in place, the artist was allotted 486 days to complete the project.⁵⁰ Her problems continued however; costs of stone cutting and transportation absorbed nearly three quarters of her commission with other expenses leaving less than \$200 for the artist's pay.⁵¹

The stone cutting firm in Indiana sent photographs as its artisans worked from the models and Mrs. Fisher forwarded the pictures to the Section. The arrangement was not altogether satisfactory and the Section had reservations about the sculpture as it appeared in the photographs, but it was understood that the artist would do a final touching up of the surfaces as the figures were installed.⁵²

Circumstances again intervened. There is in the Section files the announcement of a baby girl, born to the Fishers in the spring of 1941. Still, by September the limestone bears were finally set in front of the Park post office. The artist had carefully arranged the details of their installation but she found it impossible to supervise the job at the site and thought a final treatment of the surfaces superfluous. Would final photographs of the job suffice for the completion of her commission, she asked.⁵³ The Section asked for such pictures and on their receipt wrote that the work seemed excellent.⁵⁴ There is no record of a final carving.

Somewhat later, however, the postmaster in the Park gave his unvarnished appraisal of the work:

These Sculptured Bears' resemblance to real bears is rather vague, especially here in Yellowstone Park where bear [*sic*] are so common, and everybody is very familiar with real bear. "Mrs. Fisher's conception of a bear must be rather vague" is the opinion of most of the residents of Yellowstone Park.

The Bears do greatly improve the appearance of the Building tho, and are welcome additions. . . .⁵⁵

49. Hopper to Fisher, August 7, 1939; Alan Fisher (the artist's husband) to Hopper, August 29, 1939 and November 28, 1939.

50. "Information for preparation of contract," (Fisher).

51. Fisher to Hopper, February 20, 1940; and Fisher to Hopper, October 16, 1940.

52. Fisher to Hopper, February 20, 1941; Hopper to Fisher, February 26, 1941.

53. Fisher to Hopper, September 20, 1941.

54. Hopper to Fisher, September 25 and October 2, 1941.

55. Joe D. Kurtz to Office of the Commissioner, Federal Works Agency, November 14, 1941.

In Washington, the Section remained unshaken by the vagueness of its bears. The press release which finally covered the commission pointed out that these were broad interpretations, not imitations of bears in stone and that in such a decoration the artist was striving for a harmonious relationship between textures and architectural relationships.⁵⁶

With the Park commission and the one in Riverton (1942), the Treasury Section's work in Wyoming came to a halt. The Section itself lasted not much longer, dissolved in June, 1943, as the nation turned to the war effort.

One need not argue that the four federal arts programs left a spectacular residue in Wyoming. Such was not the case but art is a matter of the spirit, ideally a part of the consciousness of a people. It may be that the New Deal experiments had a disproportionately greater impact on this frontier state than elsewhere, because the arts in Wyoming had so long been undernourished. Contemporary criticisms of the New Deal's art projects missed their mark in the Wyoming experience. Here was no vast "make-work" program, allowing hordes of would-be artists to boondoggle their way to a pay check. Nor were the Wyoming commissions for both PWAP and the Treasury Section marked by leftist propagandizing and avant garde experimentation. The work here was conventional, competently done and in keeping with both the needs and the tastes of Wyomingites.

The government itself progressed from the PWAP which treated the artist as a salaried technician to the Treasury Section in which the canons of artistic and creative integrity were followed with some care. In the commissions we have documented, the supervision from Washington came through carefully phrased suggestions and if the artist was not left completely on his own, he enjoyed a good deal of autonomy in the execution of his project. It is true that there was a general stipulation that the Wyoming commissions should reflect the concerns of the state but within this framework the artist apparently worked easily and was delighted to do so. The commissions often enhanced his professional status and even in the experimental PWAP he was dealt with as an individual. The Wyoming experience with the New Deal programs may not be typical; it is admittedly a small part of the whole. Yet the total experiment seems more than worthwhile in retrospect, even apart from its work-relief aspects. While its decorative legacy to Wyoming may have been limited, it is by no means inconsequential.

56. Press Release; Rowan wrote to Postmaster Kurtz in the same vein on November 28, 1941.

COFFEE, TEA, BEVERAGES

Boiling water is a very important desideratum in the making of a good cup of coffee or tea, but the average housewife is very apt to overlook this fact. Do not boil the water more than three or four minutes; longer boiling ruins the water for coffee or tea-making, as most of its natural properties escape by evaporation, leaving a very insipid liquid, composed mostly of lime and iron, that would ruin the best coffee, and give the tea a dark, dead look, which ought to be the reverse.

Water left in the tea-kettle overnight *must never be used for preparing the breakfast coffee*; no matter how excellent your coffee or tea may be, it will be ruined by the addition of water that has been boiled more than once.

Coffee

One full coffee-cupful of ground coffee, stirred with one egg and part of the shell, adding a half cupful of *cold* water. Put it into the coffee boiler, and pour on to it a quart of boiling water; as it rises and begins to boil, stir it down with a silver spoon or fork. Boil hard for ten or twelve minutes. Remove from the fire and pour out a cupful of coffee then pour back into the coffee-pot. Place it on the back of the stove or range, where it will keep hot, (and not boil); it will settle in about five minutes. Send to the table *hot*. Serve with good cream and lump sugar. Three-quarters of a pound of Java and a quarter of a pound of Mocha make the best mixture of coffee.

Iced Coffee

Make more coffee than usual at breakfast time and stronger. When cold put on ice. Serve with cracked ice in each tumbler.

Iced Tea

Is now served to a considerable extent during the summer months. It is of course used without milk, and the addition of sugar serves only to destroy the finer tea flavor. It may be prepared some hours in advance, and should be made stronger than when served hot. It is bottled and placed in the ice-chest till required. Use the black or green teas, or both, mixed, as fancied.

Wine Whey

Sweeten one pint of milk to taste, and when boiling, throw in two wine glasses of sherry; when the curd forms, strain the whey through a muslin bag into tumblers.

The Historical Records Survey In Wyoming 1936-1942

By

JAMES A. HANSON

The National Survey

The origin of the Historical Records Survey (HRS) was grounded in earlier projects of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Civil Works Administration. Late in 1933, the American Association of Archivists and Librarians and the American Historical Association contemplated the use of unemployed labor for archival research.¹ The CWA was first approached by them but labor cutbacks in February, 1934, rendered any new project unfeasible. A Commission on National Archives Survey was established. Among its members were Robert C. Binkley, historian at Western Reserve University, and Colonel J. M. Scammell of the National Guard Bureau at Washington, who had a deep interest in the keeping of military and official records. Various proposals were drawn up, but none of them were instituted because of the prohibition on new federal projects included in the Emergency Relief Act (ERA) of 1934. Consequently, the Commission essayed to achieve local support for an archival survey.

The new Emergency Work Program of the FERA, the Work Division, was directed by Jacob Baker, and finally, in October, 1934, made funds available to local groups of the CWA and ERA for archival research.² These funds ran out in October, 1935, leaving the survey's future in doubt, and work at a standstill.

Harry Hopkins, administrator of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), was interested in a national archival survey, and

1. William F. McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969), p. 753. Information in the remainder of the first section is taken from McDonald, pp. 754-826, unless otherwise cited.

2. McDonald, *op. cit.*; Jacob Baker was born in 1895 in Colorado. He was a teacher, engineer, and personnel manager by profession, and helped establish the Vanguard Press in 1926. Baker directed the WPA's Work Relief and Special Projects after 1933.

through Raymond Moley hired Luther H. Evans, a political scientist at Harvard, to draw up plans for it.³ Evans was a Texan, a stickler for accuracy, and had never been an administrator. While knowing little of the CWA and ERA projects, he realized the worth of that type of records program. By July 23, 1935, the basic plans for the HRS were drawn and an initial allotment of \$15 million had been made. Two projects were to be administered—the Federal Archives Survey, an inventory of federal records nationwide, which was finished in June, 1937, and a state-local records survey.

Evans was appointed HRS national supervisor on October 1, 1935. The fledgling project was put under the tutelage of the WPA's Writers' Project (FWP) with which it had little in common.

Historical Records Surveys were set up in every state between January and May 1, 1936. The WPA was co-sponsor with whatever state agency would accept the responsibility. The HRS was generally ignored by the FWP, nationally and locally, except when it came to finances. Frequently writers received their salaries from HRS funds. On October 15, 1936, the HRS did become an independent part of Federal Project One, which eliminated friction between the HRS and FWP.⁴ The assistant state supervisor in charge of the HRS became the State Director of the project. When the ERA Act of 1939 was passed, the sponsorship of WPA was transferred to the states and the national office of the HRS was merged with WPA's research and records program.

The state directorships of the HRS were marked by a high turnover in personnel. Evans demanded discipline, accurate reports, and hard work. At least part of the failures of the HRS must be placed on the shoulders of the national supervisors. The Church Records Project, for example, never had a single instruction manual for field workers, and the manuscripts program was never satisfactory in either technique or consistency.

The survey generally provoked few of the attacks that other programs of Federal One did. It was, first of all, a rather uncon-

3. *Ibid.* Luther Evans was born in 1902. He received a B.A. (1923) from the University of Texas, and the M.A. (1924) and Ph.D. (1927) degrees from Stanford in political science, and modern European and American history. He taught government at New York University, 1927-1928, political science at Dartmouth, 1928-1930, and was professor of politics at Princeton, 1930-1935. He resigned from the HRS to become Librarian of Congress.

4. *Ibid.* Federal One was a part of the Works Progress Administration from 1935 to 1939. It supported and subsidized on a national scale the culturally involved portions of the labor force. Artists, writers, musicians, actors, and archivists were given employment by it. Because of the fact that it frequently used the services of professional people and the intellectual community, the cost of Federal One was generally higher per person employed, and many of the theatre projects and some of the art work was severely criticized as being "unamerican."

troubling thing to dig through musty records; second, Evans swore that he would not have "eyes bigger than the stomach" as did the rest of WPA; and third, Evans made certain that learned societies were properly informed of the HRS's contributions to research.⁵

Competent workers were hard to find; seven states had acute problems in finding qualified supervisory personnel.⁶ J. M. Scammell stated "here we have to deal not only with simple psychopathic cases and frustrated females, but hop-heads, homos, and all sorts of people whom the WPA could not get on with. . . ."

The philosophic guidance for the HRS came primarily from two men, Evans and Binkley. Evans wanted no ambitious project, but rather one which could do *some* work, one which would keep the yearly average salary per person employed at a maximum of \$1000, as the whole Federal One project had not, and one that would be national in scope. He was cautious and wanted "no WPA-type holding corporation." On the other hand, Robert C. Binkley, historian, library scientist, and advisor to Evans, preferred a survey which would produce masses of data on specific areas, as opposed to a general nationwide program. Local records were badly neglected, and the neglect was growing worse. Local and state histories had developed as an offshoot of the antiquarian school, from which scholars "departed generations ago." Chamber of Commerce publications were more akin to advertising than history. With the decline of the local unit's records, Binkley felt the decisions made by the citizen on the local level, where one has a greater share in decision making, were uninformed. The HRS was a new experiment in American relief work. Whereas the other parts of Federal One employed only a small portion of the white collar workers, here was a program for the rank and file clerks and stenographers. The work would be of social value, it would not interfere with normal business, it was of a nature that the program's manpower could fluctuate with the national economy, the work could be done by persons of average intelligence, and it was work which could be accomplished in places where there were considerable numbers of unemployed white collar workers.⁷ Binkley, more than Evans, saw the HRS as a massive, factory-like operation which would delve into every type of record, even to the point of

5. MacDonald states that Binkley served as unofficial liaison between Evans and the academic community.

6. McDonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 774, 778; By Evan's admission, the best administered states were Louisiana, North Carolina and Oklahoma. The seven problem states were Georgia, South Carolina, Nevada, New Mexico, Virginia, Washington, and West Virginia.

7. Robert C. Binkley, *The Why of the White Collar Program*, n.p., n.d., probably the American Historical Association, ca. 1938, pp. 1-3.

investigating library checkout slips to determine the intellectual levels of people and communities.⁸

Evans finally, after a year and more of resistance, yielded to Binkley and the program fragmented into a variety of surveys. All sorts of projects were undertaken outside of public records—so that the original state and local government records inventories were never finished in the six years of the HRS's existence.

In June, 1936, Evans made plans for publication of collected data, but only if the data were accurate, useful and up to date. Whether from other duties or from Evans' insistence on accuracy, ten per cent of the field work nationwide still remained unfinished in June, 1942.

The HRS was under state sponsorship after the passage of the ERA Act of 1939, but little effect was felt. The states were generally able to furnish their share of expenses in kind, such as storage and office space and supplies. Evans departed the HRS for the Library of Congress and Sargent Child succeeded him on March 1, 1940.⁹ Other more difficult problems gnawed away at the effectiveness of the HRS. The ERA Act of 1939 stipulated that employees were to be dismissed, unless war veterans, after 18 months. New workers could scarcely be trained at a fast enough rate; the best workers were turned out.

Upon Child's accession to the directorship, the direction of the HRS, as with the WPA, turned to preparation for war. The historical emphasis of the project declined: vital statistics took its place. A survey of organizations useful for home defense was undertaken and then dropped because prior approval had not been obtained. Buildings suitable for storage of federal records in the event of an attack upon Washington were also inventoried. The HRS was terminated in April of 1942. The Survey had started well, but it had become too diversified to complete its tasks in six years. The years just prior to World War II saw it diverted from its intended purpose, and finally, the advent of the War caused its demise. Had it lived, one can only speculate as to its far ranging effects; as it was, the results of the HRS were just beginning to be felt by historians and archivists when the HRS was eliminated and the nation's attention turned to other things.

8. Max H. Fish, ed., *Selected Papers of Robert C. Binkley*, "The Cultural Program of the W.P.A." (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), p. 245.

9. McDonald, *op. cit.*: Sargent Child received a B.A. from Amherst and his M.A. and Ph.D. (1928) in history and political science at Columbia. Under his administration, a national advisory council to the HRS national director, serving until June, 1942.

The Survey in Wyoming

The birth of the Wyoming Historical Records Survey was fraught with false labor pains; attempts to produce some sort of technically workable and financially viable records project were made in Wyoming two years before the national program was inaugurated. A group of federal agencies combined forces and formulated a proposal for a study of all state records, but due to problems previously discussed, the implementation was left to the individual states. J. M. Scammell of the National Guard Bureau pursued the idea and attempted to establish a survey in "the Western states" as funds from various sources might permit. It was a haphazard attempt, at best: "time was more important than thoroughness."¹⁰

The Democratic governor of Wyoming, Leslie A. Miller, was written to by Scammell, but no help was forthcoming. Such a project was financially impossible at that time. Undaunted, Scammell wrote the adjutant general of Wyoming, General R. L. Esmay, "I hope that you have not run into any more difficulties; and if you have, that you will try to hold the organization together and plan means to carry out the programs in a different form and with other means."¹¹

The organization did languish, however, as funding could not be achieved at that time. Late in 1934, the issue was again taken up, this time by Dan Greenburg, former oil company public relations officer and chairman of the Wyoming State Planning Board.¹²

10. Lt. Col. J. M. Scammell, National Guard Bureau, Washington, D. C., to Laura White, University of Wyoming, Laramie, March 10, 1934. WPA - Historical Records Survey, Early Organization of Survey, Records Group 69, National Archives Building (hereafter referred to as RG 69, NA.)

11. Scammell to Gen. R. L. Esmay, A.G., Cheyenne, March 10, 1934. WPA - Historical Records Survey, Early Organization of Survey, RG 69, NA.

12. Dan Greenburg was born in Chicago in 1888. His family moved to Idaho when he was a small boy. He attended law school in Chicago, then returned to Idaho as a reporter for a northwest news syndicate. He was appointed a colonel in the Idaho state militia in 1915, a major in the national guard in 1916, was chief of recruitment in Idaho in 1915-1916, and during World War I, directed the state's Civilian Defense Administration. Giving up his career in journalism, he moved to Wyoming in 1921. Greenburg was public relations officer for the Midwest Oil Company and edited the *Midwest Review* which contained county history sketches. In 1935, Standard Oil Company acquired Midwest, and Greenburg, an active Democrat, was looked after by Democratic governor, Leslie A. Miller. He was appointed executive secretary of the State Planning Board and the Water Conservation Board. The State Planning Board later became a part of the Wyoming Travel Commission. Greenburg was instrumental in getting legislation passed to establish a state Historical Landmarks Commission and in acquiring the site of Fort Laramie which was turned over to the federal government. He became chairman of the State Planning Board

The CWA, in October, was able to make a few funds available for the hiring of four people in Wyoming for archival survey work. Fortified with at least a little money, Greenburg launched a small survey, which, while not producing an abundance of results, did get publicity and some people off relief rolls.¹³ When the money and the project ran out in October, 1935, the state WPA offices had surely gotten wind of the new project being forged. F. M. Strong, Wyoming state assistant director, Professional and Service Projects, wired Bruce McClure, his director, urgently requesting funds for some sort of project to preserve pioneer records in Wyoming.¹⁴

With the creation of the HRS as a federal project in January, 1936, Greenburg was questioned by Mart Christensen, state director of the WPA Writers' Projects, concerning his survey's progress and accomplishments.¹⁵ Greenburg did more than answer questions; he volunteered to work without pay (but with expenses) to set up the Historical Records Survey in Wyoming.¹⁶ Here was a golden opportunity—experienced personnel at no salary. Christensen immediately took him on, and the two began working frantically to submit a proposal for funding.

On January 4, 1936, Henry G. Alsberg, national director of the FWP, wrote Christensen that the Federal Writers' Projects had

in 1936 before retiring in 1939, but was then appointed chief census taker for Albany, Laramie, and Carbon Counties for the 1940 census. He was in the process of securing funds for marking the Pony Express Route and reorganizing the Cheyenne Club when he died of a heart attack on January 1, 1940. He was a member of the Explorer's Club, the Wyoming Press Association, the Wyoming Geographic Board, and chairman of the Wyoming State Auto Association. Among friends who sent their regrets were Peter Steffanson, famed Arctic explorer, and William H. Jackson, early western photographer. ([Cheyenne] *Wyoming Tribune*, January 2, 1940, p. 1.)

13. Greenburg to Scammel, August 2, 1935, WPA-HRS, Early Organization, RG 69, NA.

14. McDonald, *op. cit.*; F. M. Strong, Cheyenne, to Bruce McClure, Washington D.C., October 1, 1935 (telegram), WPA-HRS, Early Organization, RG 69, NA. Bruce McClure was executive secretary of the FERA under Harry Hopkins, and was procedure and policy man for the Professional and Service Projects. Frank M. Strong was state director, P&SP, from 1935-1938, and directed the WPA after Metz stepped down. He was a civil engineer in 1942. (*Polk's City Directory, Cheyenne, 1929-1930, 1931-1932, 1935, 1937-1938, 1939-1940, 1942, 1945.* All other biographical data on Wyoming HRS employees, unless otherwise noted, is from that source.) Will G. Metz, rancher from Sheridan County, Wyoming, was WPA state director from 1936-1938, and then took over the administration of the Emergency Relief Administration in 1938.

15. Mart Christensen was Registrar, U. S. Land Office in Cheyenne in the period 1929-1934. He headed the Wyoming Federal Writers' Project until 1938, when he resigned to run for state treasurer. He was state treasurer from 1939-1944. He died October 12, 1944 at the age of 72.

16. Mart Christensen, Cheyenne, to Luther H. Evans, Washington, D. C., April 16, 1936. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

been authorized to administer an allotment made to the WPA for the conduct of a "Survey of State and Local Historical Records."¹⁷ Luther H. Evans was appointed national supervisor and Mart Christensen was to assume the added burden of directing the new Historical Records Survey in Wyoming and the new title of State Supervisor. A tentative allotment of \$3570 was made to Wyoming for three months' operation with at least ten employees.¹⁸ Hiring of employees began on March 4, 1936, even though the first proposal for funding the HRS in Wyoming was denied on the 9th by Luther Evans.¹⁹ His reason for turning down the first proposal was that non-labor expenses were estimated to be 23.9%, whereas the maximum acceptable by the national office was 20%. By March 11, a revised application had been prepared and submitted. It asked for \$3583 for three months' funding, employing 16 workers from relief rolls. Four hundred dollars was assigned to travel and per diem; the form was signed by Greenburg, "Local Technical Advisor," F. M. Strong, Assistant State Director in Charge of Professional and Service Projects, and Mart Christensen.²⁰

But while this application was in the mail, Evans proceeded to act. He notified Christensen by wire on March 12 that funds for the project were released as of March 6.²¹ Christensen had written to Evans on March 10, 1936, outlining his office staffing for the HRS, which may have induced the national supervisor to proceed ahead of schedule. Christensen, with Greenburg's assistance, outlined the staffing as follows:

1. Cheyenne: State Supervisor, five typists
2. HRS - Laramie, U. of Wyo., one assistant superintendent, three helpers
3. HRS - Fort Bridger State Museum, one assistant superintendent and two helpers.
4. HRS - Cheyenne, State Capitol Building, one assistant superintendent and five helpers.
5. HRS - Cody, Buffalo Bill Museum, one assistant superintendent and two helpers.
6. HRS - County Library, Sheridan, one assistant superintendent and two helpers.

17. Henry G. Alsberg, Washington, D. C., to Christensen, January 4, 1936. WPA - Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

18. Evans to Christensen, February 27, 1936. WPA - Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

19. Christensen to Evans, March 4, 1936. WPA-HRS, Project Applications, RG 69, NA, and Evans to Christensen, March 9, 1936. WPA-HRS, Project Applications, RG 69, NA.

20. "Request for Project Approval-Wyoming," March 11, 1936. WPA-HRS, Project Applications, RG 69, NA.

21. Evans to Christensen, (telegram), March 12, 1936. WPA-HRS, Project applications, RG 69, NA.

This called for an initial total of 25 employees. Greenburg's name was again put forth as one who was "thoroughly conversant with this class of work, having supervised the previous CWA and ERA National Archives Project." Christensen added that "it is our purpose to make this work flexible so that we may eliminate workers or add to, as the occasion demands."²²

Of interest is an additional letter sent the next day with the second application. In it, Christensen stated that Greenburg and not he had dictated the letter of March 10. Evidently Christensen had not read it before affixing his signature. Second thoughts had entered Christensen's mind upon perusing it later, and he commented

I note that he [Greenburg] made frequent reference to state superintendents and assistant superintendents and I am anxious to inform you that the State Superintendent will be myself . . . those Assistant Superintendents referred to by Mr. Greenburg will merely be workers. I hope that this will be understood so that there will be no delay in releasing the funds.²³

Some confusion resulted in Washington because of letters being written by one person and signed but not read by another.²⁴

Notification of funding, for the entire project through June 30, was sent on March 11, 1936. With it was a warning not to have cost overruns.²⁵ A sum of \$7200 for the survey of federal records was allotted, and two days later an additional \$3600 was provided for the survey of state and local historical records through May 15. Eventually the latter would become the paramount project of the Wyoming HRS.²⁶

These allocations were made directly to the HRS rather than to the FWP to preserve the new project's legal integrity.²⁷ The survey was to "enable scholars and others who are interested in the basic records of our civilization to know what historical materials exist in Wyoming."²⁸

The Wyoming HRS was intended to devote its efforts to the

22. Christensen to Evans, March 10, 1936, WPA-HRS, Project Applications, RG 69, NA.

23. Christensen to Evans, March 11, 1936. WPA-HRS, Project Applications, RG 69, NA.

24. Evans to Christensen, March 14, 1936. WPA-HRS, Project Applications, RG 69, NA.

25. Baker to Will G. Metz, State Administrator, WPA, Cheyenne, Wyoming, March 11, 1936. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

26. Baker to Metz, March 13, 1936. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

27. Baker to Metz, March 13, 1936. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

28. Baker to Metz, May 12, 1936. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

"discovery, preservation, and making accessible of the basic materials for research in the history of this state." The workers were to collect information on the existence and general characteristics of archival materials to be included in a *Guide to Historical Collections*. Existing catalogs and indexes were to be deposited in the Library of Congress, and a union list of the materials prepared. Where such catalogs were lacking, the records were to be inventoried, and existing inventories were to be edited. From these sources, a master inventory of the public records of state and local government would be produced. Furthermore, the survey had as part of its objectives the collection of information concerning the housing and care of records and in some instances (only when special instructions to that affect were issued) individual items of special historical significance were to be listed or copied.

The HRS was designed to operate as did the Writer's Project, with and through the field organization of the WPA. All personnel were originally responsible to WPA authority. The official designation of the Wyoming survey was O.P. 65-1703. The WPA work symbol was 1885-5. The Wyoming state director of the Federal Writers' Projects was designated as state supervisor of the HRS and was responsible for the work done on the survey. An assistant to the state director was to devote all of his energies to this survey. Local project units corresponded for the most part, to the other Writer's Projects, with supervision to be provided by Writer's Projects employees. Three classes of workers were to be employed: professional workers, which included journalists, historians, and librarians; skilled workers, made up of research students, research workers and professional workers, which included less experienced employees and clerical help. The National Supervisor assigned workers' quotas and fund allotments.

Offices were to be the same as those used by the Federal Writers' Projects. The state director was to make all preliminary arrangements with officials, appoint a research editor and train workers.²⁹

The workers were to survey and inventory federal records (terminated in 1937), state and local records, church records, manuscript collections, and imprints before 1890. A separate form was provided for each, and daily progress reports were to be submitted to the state office. Classes in basic English were set up in Laramie County for the field workers close enough to attend. The field workers' job called for some basic research and library techniques which many of them did not possess. "Field workers wandered

29. Luther Evans, *Manual for the Historical Records Survey*, WPA, 1936, pp. 1-9. See also Mart Christinsen, *Instructions to Field Workers*, Wyoming Historical Records Survey Collections, Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, State Office Building, Cheyenne, (hereafter referred to as HRS), A+HD.

aimlessly about their jobs for many months" with little supervision or comprehension. Officials frequently objected to new people coming in, fingering their records, and asking embarrassing questions."³⁰ The monumental task of merely putting records in order consumed much valuable time, and the field workers were relegated to being file clerks, which, if it improved public relations with officials, delayed the project.

Among the points stressed repeatedly in the original state manual, accuracy and careful training of survey workers were most emphasized. "Great precaution should be taken that all data collected will, as far as possible, be errorless." Admonitions to be observed included divulging material in the records to the public, and removal of documents from the depository; a long list of do's and don'ts was appended for distribution to the field workers.

Finally, ten basic forms were made up for data collection. Each form was used for specific information—painting and sculptures, storage space, library volumes and maps. In all, the beginning of the HRS appeared auspicious. A great need for such a massive inventory, if not already felt, would be in the future. The survey would provide such data, its workers would be off the relief roles and producing useable data, and government—county, state and federal—would benefit in the end.³¹

Greenburg consulted with Governor Miller and special arrangements were made so that the new HRS staff would not be crowded, "like sardines," into the cramped basement of WPA headquarters at the governor's mansion. Rather, special offices were set aside for them in the state capitol building, "near Mr. Greenburg and under his quasi direction." Actually, Christensen was losing any control he may have had; Greenburg and Miller selected Leon Frazier, ex-school teacher from Torrington, as assistant state supervisor without consulting the state director. They dispatched Frazier out into the state to line up workers and then informed Christensen that he had a new subordinate.³² Jacob Baker, assistant administrator of the WPA in Washington, announced that "after a careful canvass of the field of candidates, we believe that the logical person for the position of Assistant State Supervisor in Wyoming is Mr. Leon D. Frazier," a man whom Greenburg and

30. Record of Program Operation and Accomplishment 651.3188. Historical and Cultural Records Survey - Wyoming, WPA Service Division, Final State Reports, RG 69, NA.

31. Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-16, and *Instructions to Field Workers*, HRS, A+HD.

32. Christensen to Evans, April 16, 1936, WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

the governor had selected a month before and who was already traveling in service to the HRS.³³

An early and acute problem soon evidenced itself; unemployed workers of the type necessary for the Survey could not be obtained in Wyoming. Frazier, Greenburg's leg man, selected his workers with an eye on quality and ignored the 90% relief workers rules. Fifteen non-relief people were hired, compared with six on relief rolls. The Wyoming federal records portion of the HRS had 17 non-relief and ten relief persons. On May 30, 1936, Greenburg received a telegram from Luther Evans, advising him that there were too many non-relief workers on the Historical Records Survey, and that there was doubt that salaries would be paid.³⁴

Will G. Metz., closer to the problem, was sympathetic to the difficulties of Greenburg, and asked for a 50 or even 100 percent exemption from the relief rule, even though Harry Hopkins, on November 26, 1935, had extended non-relief hiring to a maximum of 25 per cent. Metz stated "I do not wish to be guilty of crippling or shutting down [the HRS] but . . . I shall be forced to at least cripple the project by enforcement of 90-10 rule unless exemption is granted." All efforts had been made, he contended, but Greenburg was unable to find properly qualified relief workers. Greenburg, on his own initiative, had then proceeded to hire non-relief employees. Metz thought that a 50 percent exemption would be satisfactory, and that he would not act until Baker replied.³⁵ Dispensation on a 75-25 ratio (90-10 was normal) was granted for six months and then revoked. Ten additional professional and technical workers who were on relief roles to augment the project were not hired until after June 8, 1936, when exemption from the 90 percent relief requirement was given. The difficulties returned which led ultimately to friction and the state director's resignation.³⁶

Orders from Washington in October, 1936, called for the complete segregation of the HRS from the FWP in Wyoming for administrative purposes to differentiate the roles of the two projects.³⁷ The WPA office in Cheyenne requested that Greenburg be left as state director of the HRS, owing to his efficiency and success. J. M. Scammell, after 1936 the Regional Director of the

33. Baker to Metz, May 12, 1936. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

34. Evans to Greenburg (telegram), May 30, 1936. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

35. Metz to Baker, May 30, 1936. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

36. Baker to Metz, June 8, 1936. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

37. Evans to Strong, October 28, 1936. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

HRS, and based in Cheyenne, reviewed Greenburg's work and was "quite well pleased with the progress made so far."³⁸ Evans replied that Greenburg was a good man, and his position with the HRS was somewhat extraordinary:

We have not issued any formal letter of appointment for Mr. Greenburg, but have welcomed his fatherly interest in the Historical Records Survey. We have, also, permitted him to travel at the expense of the project. In view of the fact that we soon expect to be in very serious difficulties relative to non-relief exemptions, it seemed to be best not to charge Mr. Greenburg against our non-relief quota by placing him officially on the survey.³⁹

With separate HRS directors after November, 1936, Scammell re-evaluated his estimation of the Wyoming project. He noted that all county inventories finished as of October 1, 1936, were to be published by December 15. Of the eleven county surveys completed, only three would be ready by that date. Scammell was obviously irritated that the HRS in Wyoming was "75 percent short of the assigned objective." The reasons were simple: lack of field supervisors and lack of any coherent statewide planning. New supervisors' positions remained unfilled, and editorial work was lagging. The HRS in Wyoming needed a full-time director, an editor and three assistants, and three field supervisors. Frazier, assistant to Greenburg, was appointed State Director, but became ill and resigned before he received official confirmation.⁴⁰

With Frazier unable to continue, with Mart Christensen and the FWP formally divorced from the HRS, the position went to Dan Greenburg. His appointment as state director, HRS, was made on December 15, 1936.⁴¹ Greenburg, long prone to disregard rules of hiring relief workers, and having produced no materials for publication, was forced to resign after eleven months. Luther Evans, when conditions called for it, could be devastatingly direct. After gaining some relief for the Wyoming problems and seeing no final production of data, he finally could tolerate no more and asked for Greenburg's resignation. Evidently there was some sort of misunderstanding, for Evans reiterated his order by telegram, adding that if Greenburg did not vacate his office by October 1, 1937, the Federal Bureau of Investigation would be called in (for what purpose was not stated.)⁴² The post was taken over by

38. Strong to Evans, October 23, 1936. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

39. Evans to Strong, October 28, 1936. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

40. Scammell to Strong, November 21, 1936. Letters of Criticism, Historical Records Survey, Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department.

41. Evans to Greenburg, December 15, 1936. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

42. Evans to Greenburg (telegram), September 30, 1937. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

Donald Snyder, who remained in office until May 1, 1938.⁴³ Snyder had been Greenburg's assistant; Evans thought that Snyder had been the main force behind the work that had been done in Wyoming.⁴⁴

Having worked with Agnes Wright Spring, and realizing that she was a production force of the type needed for the Survey, Snyder tried to give her a raise and transfer her from the FWP to the HRS.⁴⁵ Cries of foul came from Alsberg, and Metz, WPA state administrator, reassured him that she would not be given either a raise or a transfer.

To pull a key person away [from the FWP] which is certainly as worthwhile, if not much more worthwhile, than the Survey . . . is indefensible. . . . If the Historical Records Survey could not continue without the services of Mrs. Spring, it might be a very good idea to discontinue the project.⁴⁶

Mrs. Spring remained a writer and editor, however, and the HRS fumbled along without her and was not prematurely terminated.

In May 1938, the first county inventory from Wyoming was submitted for criticism, a year and a half after the first 11 had been scheduled for publication. It arrived fully two years after the survey was begun and three directors had gone their way. The

43. William Bixby of Cheyenne was interviewed by the writer on May 8, 1971. Mr. Bixby was employed by United Air Lines in 1941, and knew Donald Snyder. Snyder was a "lead man" or crew chief at the Cheyenne airport where the UAL modified B-17 "Fortress" bombers. The planes were flown to Cheyenne from their point of manufacture near Seattle, Washington. The Cheyenne facilities consisted of four lines with five crews (each directed by a lead man) on each line. There were three shifts, making 60 crews in all. The crews put in all armament, added sky domes, bubbles, bomb bay racks, reserve fuel tanks, and armor plate. The crews also painted the bombers and added national markings. Snyder remained there through World War II and was a shift foreman in 1945. He left Cheyenne in 1945 and his present whereabouts were unknown to Mr. Bixby.

44. Evans to Scammell, September 30, 1937. WPA - Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

45. Agnes Wright Spring, a resident of Willits, California, was born January 5, 1894. From 1913 to 1918 she was Wyoming assistant state librarian. State librarian from 1918 to 1921, she was state historian and state supervisor of weights and measures, 1918-1919. Mrs. Spring was an editor of the *Wyoming Stockman-Farmer*, 1914-1938, a supervisor on the Wyoming FWP, 1938-1941, and editor-in-chief of the Wyoming Guidebook. In 1927, she wrote a biography of Caspar Collins, for whom Casper, Wyoming is named. From 1950 to 1963 she was intermittently editor of the *Colorado Magazine* and Colorado state historian. She retired in 1964. (Biography File, Historical Division, Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department (A+HD)).

46. Donald Snyder to Evans, December 6, 1937, and Metz to Alsberg, March 23, 1938. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG. 69, NA.

acting state director was Louis Ash, who gave up his position to Claude Campbell in June.⁴⁷

The outline for county inventories was sound, covering organization, environment, history and economic and social developments. There were, however, too many details requested for a clerk to research, let alone write into suitable prose. Perhaps this portion of the HRS would have best been left to the Writers' Project.⁴⁸

Laramie County, the first inventory to be published (1938), received a careful going-over by the national office before being sent to the mimeograph machines. Evans picked apart the indexing from a variety of directions—words, references, punctuation, etc.

Claude Campbell, whether from the mass of paperwork generated by previous administrations or through real editorial ability, did manage to get Sweetwater, Platte, and Goshen County inventories published before his resignation on January 1, 1940. The same criticisms of drafts sent to Washington were heard—poor indexing, poor chronology, incompleteness of listings, inadequate citations, spelling errors, repetition, a lack of development of themes and poor documentation. For example, Sweetwater County had no hospital and no hospital board, but outlines carried a section for this, and the field worker(s) dutifully made up a section on the county hospital board. As Evans remarked, "I do not think the comments given in my letter . . . have yet resulted in much improvement."⁴⁹ Platte County's inventory was "an adequate piece of work" with only five pages of general criticisms offered by the national office.⁵⁰ In a two-page criticism, however, the Lincoln County inventory was vehemently criticized as being "too fragmentary" and the writer of the county history had "infinite patience with details" but not with citations.⁵¹ Sargent Child, who succeed-

47. Sargent Childs to Louis Ash, May 27, 1938, and Evans to Claude Campbell, June 15, 1938. Letters of Criticism, HRS, A+HD. Louis Ash, and his wife La Wanda were two of the four CWA-ERA survey people hired by Greenburg in 1934. The two wrote *Cheyenne: The Magic City: From the Official Records*, in 1935. There is evidently only one copy extant. It is MSS. 233, Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department. Louis Ash was listed as a salesman in 1936-1937, then was employed by the HRS in 1940, and was a storekeeper at Fort Francis E. Warren in 1945. Claude Campbell was a salesman for Security Building and Loan in Cheyenne, 1929-1932. From 1932 to 1938 he was sales manager for the Capitol Coal Company in Cheyenne before going to work with the HRS. After he resigned from the HRS, he spent five years as editor for the Wyoming State Highway Department.

48. Outline, County Inventories, and Child to Ash, May 27, 1938. Letters of Criticism, HRS, A+HD.

49. Evans to Campbell, December 14, 1938. Letters of Criticism, HRS, A+HD.

50. Florence Kerr to Campbell, October 4, 1939. Letters of Criticism, HRS, A+HD.

51. Unsigned memorandum dated January 30, 1940. Letters of Criticism, HRS, A+HD.

ed Evans in 1940, approved both the Goshen and Park County inventories with a minimum of corrections.⁵²

The state director, after January 1, 1940, was Benjamin H. McIntosh.⁵³ During his tenure only one inventory, Goshen County, was published.⁵⁴ Of all the state directors, McIntosh enjoyed the longest period of service. Much of his time was swallowed up by petty administrative details, such as workers reporting each others' accomplishments on their own time sheets and the inability of new field workers to report work done.⁵⁵ He did stress, in a three-page memorandum, the need for increased production on the county inventories, but little came of it.⁵⁶

The ills of the Wyoming HRS returned on January 17, 1940. R. H. Slover, regional supervisor, research and records, sent a four page memorandum to L. G. Flannery, WPA State Administrator.⁵⁷ A revamping of the chain of command was in order; the new plan was meticulous, and criticisms were numerous. Archival research was to be stepped up and church and book inventories cut back. Evidently, Slover felt that the main purpose, a public records survey, was being displaced by secondary projects.⁵⁸

Field supervision was woefully inadequate in Wyoming, being carried out through correspondence instead of personal contact. Workers on the project had been poorly selected, and training or coordination had been ignored to the point that the Wyoming HRS was a collection of individual employees and not an organization. Field supervision, project planning, public relations, progress reports, production controls—in short, the administration—was a general failure.

52. Child to L. G. Flannery, State Works Projects Administrator, July 9, 1940. Letters of Criticism, HRS, A+HD.

53. Benjamin H. McIntosh, a high school principal in Cheyenne from 1929 to 1932, was Wyoming State Commissioner of Education from 1932 to 1936. He was Assistant Director of the FWP, then State Director of the HRS from 1940-1941, and finally State Director, Professional and Service Projects until 1942 when he retired.

54. WPA Final Report, Wyoming, WPA Service Division; Final State Reports, RG 69, NA.

55. McIntosh to Pauline Lewis, Sheridan, Wyoming, and McIntosh to Allegra Spencer, Newcastle, Wyoming, August 29, 1940. WPA Form DPS 21, HRS, A+HD.

56. Memorandum to Field Workers. Instructions for Field Workers, HRS, A+HD.

57. McDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 772; Slover served as HRS state director in Oklahoma before moving to Denver as HRS regional editor. L. G. "Pat" Flannery was a newspaper publisher from 1923 to 1938. He also published *John Hutton's Diary*, a multi-volume autobiography of a Wyoming pioneer. He died in 1964. (Biography File, Historical Division, A+HD).

58. Robert H. Slover, Regional Supervisor, Research and Records, to Flannery, January 17, 1940. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

The new administrative setup recommended by Slover called for a director who would be an administrator, delegate authority, be a public relations man and "be a good judge of personnel." The assistant director was to be a general helper to the director. The office manager was next in the chain of command; his duties were those of turning all field material into publishable documents as well as the flow of work in the state office. An operations clerk would be responsible for all forms and timekeeping, and would be assisted by a forms checking editor. The various projects would be directed by individual editors—churches, imprints and manuscripts, state records and local records. A field supervisor would provide assurance of initially accurate data collecting and properly trained workers. A stenciling, mimeographing, and assembling unit would complete the state office staff.⁵⁹

The criticisms were probably accurate and the suggested improvements were no doubt needed. But only two non-relief workers were allowed on the Wyoming HRS; the Director was one and the field supervisor was supposed to be the second. Where, in Wyoming in 1940 was one to find unemployed individuals on relief who could fulfill the outlined duties? The question was never answered. The suggested staff rearrangements did not occur.

That the editorial work was far behind the field work is indicated by some notes on scratch sheets in McIntosh's handwriting, dated "1-19-40." On it he listed the records inventories of 11 counties as being completed but unpublished. In the two years before the survey ended, only two were duplicated for distribution. With the sheets are numerous organization charts, probably done to conform with Slover's reorganization plan of January 17, 1940.⁶⁰

One good piece of evidence exists for making the assumption that the quality of employees varied considerably. During two months in 1941 (March and April), one field worker requisitioned two thousand forms of her work, while another asked for "1 #2 pencil, 15 sheets onion skin, 10 sheets letter head, and 8 sheets carbon paper." Checking the lists of supplies sent to the 27 workers then employed, this tremendous variation seems to be perpetuated, some workers gobbling up forms and supplies, while others proceeded at a snail's pace.⁶¹

Another source of delay presented itself; war clouds were gathering and Binkley's point of view was widely accepted. The HRS in Wyoming, as in other states, became a place to put other activities of a survey nature. Most of 1940 was spent in preparing an index of every alien in the state for the federal "Bureau of Immigra-

59. Slover to Flannery, January 17, 1940. WPA-Central Correspondence. Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

60. Miscellaneous Papers, HRS, A+HD.

61. Reports on Supplies Sent Field Workers, HRS, A+HD.

tion."⁶² An Automobile Graveyard Survey was done in 1941 in preparation for defense use of scrap metals. No records from this survey could be found.⁶³ The ill-fated Survey of the Civilian Defense Activities was begun in July, 1941 at the request of Florence Kerr, Commissioner of WPA community service projects but was discontinued as prior approval from Fiorello LaGuardia's Office of Civilian Defense had not been obtained.⁶⁴

McIntosh, an able administrator, resigned January 1, 1942, in favor of Henry Challender who served as state supervisor of the HRS during its last months of existence.⁶⁵

Six months after Pearl Harbor, the Wyoming HRS was still cranking out work. The preliminary Church Records of the Vital Statistics Report was published, the Park County Inventory was printed, but the key volume, the index of all state and local government records, was, after two years, still in the planning stage.⁶⁶ Challender, state supervisor of the HRS, asked for an extension of time before the workers were transferred to war work. He even optimistically requested more money and permission to survey all state school records. A penciled note by that paragraph reads "Can't do it—sorry—if sponsor wants to complete it OK with proper credit to HRS." The sponsor, the Wyoming State Library, did not wish to do so, for it was not begun.⁶⁷

The end of the Wyoming Historical Records Survey occurred in

62. Record of Program and Accomplishment, 651.3118. Historical and Cultural Records Survey-Wyoming, WPA Service Division, Final State Reports, RG 69, NA.

63. Record of Program and Accomplishment, 651.3118. Historical and Cultural Records Survey-Wyoming, WPA Service Division, Final State Reports, RG 69, NA.

64. Record of Program and Accomplishment, 651.3118. His. and Cult. Rec. Survey - Wyo., WPA Service Div., Final State Reports, RG 69 NA.

65. Child to Harry Challender, January 1, 1942. Misc. Correspondence, HRS, A+HD. Challender's widow, Agnes Challender, is living in Cheyenne. She was interviewed by the writer on May 7, 1971. Her husband was born in Iowa on April 24, 1889. He attended Stanford University and received a B.S.Ed. and an M.S.Ed. Volunteering in World War I, he lost his hearing in an artillery regiment. After the War, he taught at Shoshoni and Hanna, Wyoming. Mrs. Challender described her husband as "close mouthed" about his work with the HRS. She said he traveled a great deal trying to check up continually on field workers, and he left the HRS as soon as "he could get a good job." Evidently, Mr. Challender disliked the HRS and WPA. Mrs. Challender quoted him as saying "You felt like a bum on WPA." My husband would never have been on it if he hadn't been deaf." After the HRS terminated, Challender became Education Director at Fort Francis E. Warren, a position he held until his death in 1954.

66. Challender to Child, May 12, 1942. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

67. Challender to Child, May 12, 1942. WPA-Central Correspondence, Wyoming State Series, RG 69, NA.

June, 1942.⁶⁸ Agnes Wright Spring noted that the records of the Federal Writers' Projects were placed in storage on January 8, 1942.⁶⁹ While no direct mention of the HRS was made, the WPA Final Report from Wyoming stated that

Mr. Fulton D. Bellamy served as State Administrator until March 1943, at which time the liquidation of the Works Projects Administration was completed. The period from December 7, 1941 to the close of WPA activities was accomplished by waves of Administrative reductions, and the administrative staff reached a basic minimum in October, 1942.⁷⁰

The unpublished materials of the Wyoming HRS were moved into storage at the State Library in Cheyenne on December 22, 1942. The records amounted to 30 linear feet of documents.⁷¹ In 1954, they were transferred to the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, State Office Building, in Cheyenne. The records, which contain almost no correspondence from the project, are currently stored in nine cardboard boxes. The records have shrunk to one third of their former size; only ten feet three inches of linear shelf space are now occupied by them. Few people use them; the HRS records are for the most part forgotten. But perhaps, someday, another weary student of things past will delve into the folders and rediscover a source of the state's history.

Conclusion

In all, the Wyoming Historical Records Survey was something less than a success. True, it had offered employment to a few dozen people in a time of few jobs, and in a state with a small population the employment was no doubt important. The project never did reach expected production levels, yet one is again forced to play the role of apologist and say that the goals were unrealistic in regard to the staff size and training of workers.

While the initial objectives of the Historical Records Survey were no doubt understood by the supervisory personnel in Wyoming, the initial aspects of securing adequate field personnel, of producing an end result, and of managing such a large geographic unit with no field supervisors were underestimated. At the close of the Survey in Wyoming, (June, 1942), it was estimated that all

68. Record of Program and Accomplishment, 651.3118. Hist. and Cult. Rec. Survey-Wyo., WPA Service Division, Final State Reports, RG 69, NA.

69. J. D. Newsom to Agnes Wright Spring, January 14, 1942. Wyoming State Series, Correspondence re: unpublished Materials & Depository, RG 69, NA.

70. WPA Final Report, Wyoming. WPA Service Division - Final State Reports, RG 69, NA. Fulton D. Bellamy was Assistant State Engineer before taking over the administration of the WPA in Wyoming in 1938.

71. McIntosh to Kerr, December 23, 1942. Wyo. State Series, Final Inventory of Wyoming State HRS Files, RG 69, NA.

inventories begun in the 16 counties would have been published in another year.

The HRS in Wyoming was a federal project until 1939, and then became a state project with local supervision. The four original types of activity within the states were inventories of county records, church records, manuscripts, and imprints prior to 1890. The project was initially sponsored by the WPA as a part of the Federal Writers' Project; after 1936, as a separate entity, and after 1939, it was co-sponsored by the Wyoming State Library and county and municipal governments.

No maximum or minimum numbers of workers were set; generally, each of the 16 counties whose records were surveyed had only one or two field workers. The state office was located in Cheyenne; field workers had no set base of operation other than the offices, churches, and libraries in which they did research. The state supervisor, or director, was directly in charge of the individual field workers; throughout the life of the HRS in Wyoming, no field representative was officially appointed even though repeatedly recommended by higher administrative echelons. The state supervisor was personally responsible for worker training.

The procedures used within the state were developed from guidelines issued from the national and regional offices. Supplies and work room were furnished primarily by the individual counties. A variety of forms were used for daily and cumulative tabulations of accomplishments; these reports were, in some cases, the only source of information on work progress.⁷²

The program itself, then, did make some minor contributions to clerical skills and education of secondary white collar workers. In making any final assessment of the state project, it must be compared with the HRS as a whole. When that is done, the Wyoming HRS was about average in completion rate, personnel problems, and work quality. High turnover of personnel, difficulties in training workers, and editorial backlogs plagued most states.

The HRS in Wyoming was conducted with a variety of isolated employees and frequently changing assignments. Work quality fluctuated with the abilities of the workers. Much of the accomplishments were of doubtful nature. Buildings were changed, new county officials have been elected, and the inventories and surveys moulder in cardboard boxes. The efforts of the Wyoming HRS did, however, undoubtedly improve the quality of record keeping in the state, provide employment in a time of need, and preserve some records that would otherwise have been lost or destroyed.

72. Record of Program Operation and Accomplishment 651.3118. Historical and Cultural Records Survey - Wyoming, WPA Service Division, Final State Reports, RG 69, NA.

Selected Bibliography

Published Works

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- Binkley, Robert C., *The Why of the White Collar Program*, n.d., probably published by the American Historical Association.
- Evans, Luther H., *Manual of the Historical Records Survey*, (Washington D.C.: WPA, 1936).
- McDonald, William F., *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts*. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969).
- Polk's Cheyenne City Directory*, (Salt Lake City: Polk Publishing Company, 1929-1945).

Unpublished Sources

- Works Progress (Projects) Administration - Historical Record Survey, Record Group 69, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.
- Historical Record Survey, Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, State Office Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Appendix

Wyoming
Historical Records Survey
Report on Status of Files
March, 1942

County Archives Inventories

1. Albany County. Field forms (1940) 795 pp. Entries not written. Historical sketch material from field, 160 PP. In file No. 2.
2. Big Horn County. Field forms (1940) 98 pp. Entries not written. Historical sketch material from field, 140 pp. In file No. 2.
3. Carbon County. Field forms (1939) 259 pp. Entries not written. In file No. 2.
4. Campbell County. Final draft submitted to National Office. Original forms (1939-1940) approximately 700 pp. In file No. 5.
5. Converse County. Field forms (1940) 73. Entries not written. Historical sketch material from field, 7 pp. In file No. 2.
6. Crook County. Field forms (1939-1940) 217 pp. Entries not written. Historical sketch material from field, 131 pp. Entries not written. In file No. 2.
7. Fremont County. Field forms 1939-1941 311 pp. Entries not written. Historical sketch material from field, 29 pp. In file No. 2.
8. Goshen County. Published 1940. Original field forms (1938-1939) approximately 550 pp. in file No. 5.
9. Hot Springs County. Field forms (1939-1940) 40. pp. Entries not written. Historical sketch material from field, 10 pp. In file No. 3.
10. Johnson County. Field forms (1939-1940) 730 pp. Entries not written. Historical sketch material from field, 72 pp. In file No. 3.
11. Laramie County. Published 1938. Original Field forms (1938) 700 pp. in file No. 5.
12. Lincoln County. Published 1941. Original field forms (1938-1939) approximately 630 pp. in file No. 5.
13. Natrona County. Field forms (1939-1940) 231 pp. Entries not written. Historical sketch material from field, 19 pp. In file No. 3.
14. Niobrara County. Field forms (1939-1940) 429 pp. Entries not written. In file No. 3.

15. Park County. Stencils now being cut. Original field forms (1938-1939) approximately 700 pp. In file No. 5.
16. Platte County. Published 1939. Original field forms (1938-1939) approximately 640 pp. In file No. 5.
17. Sheridan County. Field forms (1939-1941) 667 pp. Entries being written. Historical sketch material from field, 350 pp. In file No. 3.
18. Sublette County. Field forms (1938) 234 pp. Entries not written. Historical sketch material from field, 17 pp. In file No. 3.
19. Sweetwater County. Published 1939. Original field forms (1938) 800 pp. In file No. 5.
20. Teton County. Field forms (1939) 106 pp. Entries not written. Historical sketch material from field, 25 pp. In file No. 4.
21. Uinta County. Field forms (1939-1941) complete. 293 pp. Entries not written. Historical sketch material from field, 55 pp. In file No. 4.
22. Washakie County. Field forms (1939-1941) 240 pp. Entries not written. Historical sketch material from field, 161 pp. In file No. 4.
23. Weston County. Field forms (1939-1940) 270 pp. Entries not written. In file No. 4.

County Archives Inventories (Comm. Records)

24. Albany County. Briefing of Commissioners Record, 343 pp. In file No. 6.
25. Converse County. Briefing of Commissioners Record, 23 pp. In file No. 6.
26. Crook County. Transcription of Commissioners Record, 144 pp. In file No. 6.
27. Fremont County. Transcription of Commissioners Journal, 555 pp.
28. Hot Springs County. Transcription of Commissioners Record, 1958 pp. In file No. 6.
29. Johnson County. Transcription of Commissioners Journal, 410 pp. In file No. 6.
30. Natrona County. Briefing Commissioners Record, 74 pp. In file No. 6.
31. Niobrara County. Briefing of Commissioners Record, 13 pp. In file No. 6.
32. Sublette County. Briefing of Commissioners Journal, 14 pp. In file No. 6.
88. Teton County. Transcription of Commissioners Journal, 503 pp. In file No. 6.

State Archives Inventories

101. Sweetwater County. Field forms of buildings, (1939) 80 pp. In file No. 6.

Municipal Archives Inventories

201. City of Cheyenne. Field forms (1939) 67 pp. Entries not written.
202. City of Kemmerer. Field forms (1938) 48 pp. Entries not written. In file No. 3.
203. City of Kemmerer. Briefing of City Clerk's Journal, (1938) 50 pp. In file No. 3.

Public Records

950. Key Volume Material for "County Government in Wyoming". Briefing of Supreme Court Decisions as recorded in Wyoming Reports No. 1-56. All cases affecting county officers briefed. 444 pp, 8 1/2 x 11, handwritten. In file No. 7.
951. Legal File. Abstracts from Session Laws of Dakota Territory, 1862-1869; Wyoming Territory, 1869-1888; Session Laws of Wyoming,

1890-1939; and Constitution of Wyoming, 1890. Abstract of all laws governing county offices. Approximately 1530 abstracts on 8 1/2 x 11 handwritten sheets. In file No. 7.

952. Attorney General Opinions. Briefing of the opinions of the Attorney General of Wyoming, from 1889 to 1902. Opinions concerning county offices used. 402 pp. 11 x 8 1/2 sheets, handwritten. In file No. 7.

Inventory of Church Archives

- C-1. Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in Wyoming. Published 1939.
- C-2. Inventory of Churches in Wyoming. 474 Field forms. In file No. 8.

Inventory of Historical Sites

1200. Field Forms (1939-1941) 105 pp. In files 2,3,4.

Inventory of Vital Statistics

1201. Guide to Public Vital Statistics in Wyoming. Published 1941.
1202. Guide to Vital Statistics Records in Wyoming. Church Archives, Preliminary Edition. Final draft near completion.
1203. Vital Statistics Forms. 141 Field forms covering all public records of vital statistics. In file No. 1.

Maps

The Map Forms consist of approximately 750 maps. These are political, land tenure, and communication maps only, and are located in the offices of the County Clerk and the Assessors. The one map of historical value is the original Plat of Cheyenne made in 1867 by General G. M. Dodge, Chief Engineer of the Union Pacific Railroad.

Manuscripts

Filing of Individual Manuscript field forms (19 HR) 94 forms. Manuscript depositories (17 HR) 9 forms, and Manuscript Depository Reports (21 HR) 9 forms.

Imprints

Depository	Location	Per cent Completed
Carnegie Library	Lusk	100
Weston County Library	Newcastle	100
Carbon County Library	Rawlins	100
Carnegie Library	Rock Springs	0
Public Library	Sheridan	100
Crook County Red Cross Library	Sundance	0
Veterans Administration Facility Library	Sheridan	0
Hot Springs County Carnegie Library	Thermopolis	100
Goshen County Library	Torrington	100
Platte County Library	Wheatland	100
		70%

(National Archives, RG. 69, State Series 651-3118, Final Inventory of State HRS Files).

Wyoming HRS Records
Archives and Historical Department
Cheyenne, Wyoming

Box	Title
I.	Archives: State Government WPA HRS 1936-1940 County Officers Inventory Compiled Session Laws 1867-1939 Instructions to survey workers.
II.	Educational Program - Pictures Legal Status of Wyoming Women Archaeological Reports Historic Records Survey Manual Manuscript Collections by county Painting and Statuary Reports.
III.	Bibliographies - Congressional Library Editorial helps Military reservations survey Forts of Wyoming Storage space surveys by county Session Laws on: Workman's Compensation Mines & Inspector of Labor & Statistics County Offices Supreme Court Decisions Attorney General's opinions
IV.	Church Records By County By Denomination Inventories - County Records
V.	Albany - Crook
VI.	Crook - Hot Springs
VII.	Hot Springs - Natrona
VIII.	Niobrara - Sweetwater
IX.	Teton - Weston

SALADS

To Dress Cucumbers Raw

They should be as fresh from the vine as possible, few vegetables being more unwholesome when long gathered. As soon as they are brought in, lay them in cold water. Just before they are to go to table take them out, pare them and slice them into a pan of fresh cold water. When they are all sliced, transfer them to a deep dish; season them with a little salt and black pepper, and pour over them some of the best vinegar. You may mix with them a small quantity of sliced onions, not to be eaten, but to communicate a slight flavor of onion to the vinegar.

Celery Undressed

Celery is sometimes sent to the table with dressing. Scrape the outside stalks, and cut off the green tops and the roots; lay it in cold water until near the time to serve, then change the water, in which let it stand three or four minutes; split the stalks in three, with a sharp knife, being careful not to break them, and serve in goblet-shaped salad glasses.

To crisp celery, let it lie in ice-water two hours before serving; to fringe the stalks, stick several coarse needles into a cork, and draw the stalk half way from the top through the needles several times and lay in the refrigerator to curl and crisp.

Cold Slaw

Select the finest head of bleached cabbage—that is to say, one of the finest and most compact of the more delicate varieties; cut up enough into shreds to fill a large vegetable-dish or salad-bowl—that to be regulated by the size of the cabbage and the quantity required; shave very fine, and after that chop up, the more thoroughly the better. Put this into a dish in which it is to be served, after seasoning it well with salt and pepper. Turn over it a dressing made as for cold slaw; mix it well, and garnish with slices of hard-boiled eggs.

Mixed Summer Salad

Three heads of lettuce, two teaspoonfuls of green mustard leaves; a handful of water-cresses; five tender radishes; one cucumber; three hard-boiled eggs; two teaspoonfuls of white sugar; one teaspoonful of salt; one teaspoonful of pepper; one teaspoonful of made mustard; one teacupful of vinegar; half a teacupful of oil.

Mix all well together, and serve with a lump of ice in the middle.
“*Common Sense in the Household.*”

A Brief History of Social and Domestic Life Among the Military in Wyoming, 1849-1890

By

ALAN CULPIN

The position taken by social history in the field of the past can be compared to the role of the ordinary soldier in relation to the army. It is the ordinary soldier who lays the groundwork, does the dirty details, and caters to the whims of the officer. Similarly, social history provides the essentials, accounts for the details, and presents the focus behind which the more dramatic political and diplomatic histories are seen. But today, the latter are caught firmly in the quagmire of revisionism, and social history is still on the ascent.

It is hoped, therefore, that this paper will serve to provide the reader with an overall view of military aspects of social history as it occurred on one section of our frontier. It is not within the range of this paper to compare this area with any other, nor does it provide contrast within itself with civilian life. Its purpose is simply to provide a view into the social and domestic lives of the military as they existed. If this is sufficient to increase the interest of the reader in this subject, or if it proves useful to the researcher, then its purpose has been completed.

Social and domestic history of military life has two generally divergent characteristics—that of the officers and that of the common soldiers. The patterns of life, like the privileges of each one, are quite different despite their similar purpose and environment. The officer commanded and the enlisted man obeyed; the officer was more likely to be married, whereas the enlisted man was usually single; the officer was paid a pretty good salary, while the enlisted man earned a pretty small one. Thus, throughout this account many differences between the two will appear.

Between 1849, when Fort Laramie became a military post, and 1890, when the state of Wyoming was created, the territory covered by present day Wyoming belonged to Nebraska Territory, Idaho Territory, and Dakota Territory.¹ Because of these deviations, some of the accounts that have been used may at times cross

the borders of present-day Wyoming, but there are no radical changes in social history that result.

In 1867 an officer on the Wyoming frontier, commenting on military life, said:

I often think that with all the peril, hardships, and fatigue of a soldier's life, there is something fascinating in it after all. The martial music, the noise and bustle of coming into camp, and going out, the anticipated evening halt, with its delightful rest; the pipe of tobacco as you lie in the warmth of the campfire digesting your hearty meal, smoking and either engaged with your own thoughts or listening to some legend that is always told among a party of officers.²

It is a characteristic of the military man to be able to view the bright side of the most unpleasant situation and to forge a way of life from the most barren of existences. John Finerty, war correspondent for the *Chicago Times*, referred to Wyoming in 1876 as being little more than a desert, with its military posts the worst in the United States for duty.³ The soldier facing duty in this region had to carefully select his wardrobe and household effects, bearing in mind that he might receive no additions when stationed far from the railroad, the overland express being "too expensive a luxury." Fortunately, life was much simpler then than now. Few in the army were rich and no one tried to live any better than his earnings allowed.⁴

Upon arrival at his appointed location, the soldier would find only the most primitive of quarters. If he were fortunate, they would at least be airtight and waterproof; however, this was rarely the case. Typical are those described by Mrs. Elizabeth Custer:

Government wastes no money in ornamenting army quarters. They are severely plain, with plastered walls, woodwork that was once painted, perhaps, but bears little trace of the brush now . . . The kitchen was the exasperating place. It often lacked the simplest contrivances to make work easy. There was no sink . . . The cook opened the door and flung the contents of the dishpan or garbage bucket as far to one side as the vigorous force of her arms would send it.⁵

Water for washing and drinking was collected in barrels from a local stream. It was usually very hard. When clothes were put on the line to dry it was a struggle to keep them there and the wind

1. See Appendix.

2. Major Henry C. Parry, "Letters From the Frontier-1867," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 30, No. 2, p. 137.

3. John F. Finerty, *War Path and Bivouac*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 7, 8, 22, 28, *et. seq.*

4. Merrill J. Mattes, *Indians, Infants and Infantry*, (Denver: The Old West Publishing Company, 1960), pp. 26-27.

used to whip the edges of table clothes and sheets into a fringe or even ribbons.⁵

Furnishings were sparse. Army blankets sewn together served as rugs, and packing boxes, perhaps covered with calico, were used as toilet tables and wash stands. If coal oil was available, lamps could be used, but since that fluid was often lacking, candles were the more common form of lighting. Pillows were stuffed with hay, as were mattresses. If pictures had been brought, they could be used to brighten up a drab wall or cover a hole in the plaster.⁶

When an officer brought his family with him to the frontier military post, he might wisely hire a maid to accompany them, thus relieving his wife of the more rigorous duties of their household. Major and Mrs. Andrew Burt and the Custers were fortunate in this respect with their Maggie and Eliza, who, it appears, were loyal, willing workers. "Army people like the negroes," says Mrs. Custer, "and find a quality of devotion in them that is most grateful when one is so dependent on servants, as everyone is in military life."⁷ It is doubtful that this comment applied to the enlisted soldier.

The majority of a soldier's daily life was naturally involved with military affairs which typically entailed care of horses and mules, building of new barracks, cutting and hauling wood (when there were no contractors to perform this duty), and providing escorts when needed. Because of the frequent friction caused by white expansion, it was considered necessary to give the military full control of all civilian activities. Wagon trains could be and often were held up by post commanders if it were thought unsafe for them to travel.⁸ Similarly, until the establishment of local civilian law enforcement, the military filled this position.

In the 1860s a civilian at Fort Laramie was found in possession of three army blankets. He was arrested and tried by a military court, an officer presiding as judge.

"What is your name," inquired the judge.

"Pat Murphy, yer honor," replied the defendant.

"How come you in possession of the blankets, Mr. Murphy?"

"They are mine. I had them made."

"How does it happen that these blankets are all stamped U.S.?"

"Those are my initials," replied Pat.

"Your initials! How do you make that out?"

5. Elizabeth B. Custer, *Following the Guidon*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1890), pp. 226-231. Elizabeth Custer was the wife of Colonel George Custer.

6. Mattes, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

7. Custer, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-228.

8. LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *The Diaries of William Henry Jackson, Frontier Photographer, The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875*, Vol. 10, (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1959), p. 197.

Well sir, it's like this. 'U' stands for Pat and 'S' stands for Murphy." Pat got three weeks in jail!⁹

Whether in garrison or on campaign, eating played its normal, major role in the lives of officers and soldiers, with the greater benefits of that life-sustaining habit being accrued by the officers. Though they had to purchase their own rations, whereas the enlisted man was provided for by the government, the former received as pay from \$1400 to \$3500 per year¹⁰ while the lowly enlisted man received only \$156 to \$408 per year.¹¹ In addition, officers received a 10% increase (approximately \$140-350) for every five years of service whereas the enlisted man received a \$12 increase after the same period.

The ration per man was provided by the commissary in the following amounts:

Per day - 1¼ lbs. beef or ¾ lb. of pork
18 oz. of bread or flour.

Plus per
100 men - 10 lbs. of coffee, 15 lbs. of sugar, 2 qts. of salt, 4 qts. of vinegar, 4 oz. of pepper, 4 lbs. of soap, 1½ lbs. of candles.¹²

If the enlisted man had a family for whom he had to provide, he was hard pressed to make ends meet. Sergeant Leodegar Schnyder, ordnance sergeant at Fort Laramie for many years, wrote an official complaint stating he found "it almost impossible to subsist on the Ration . . ."¹³

Though prices were sufficiently high to cause careful budgeting by officers' wives, they usually enjoyed a sufficiency and frequently a great variety of food. Major Henry C. Parry, while assigned as medical officer to the Union Pacific Railroad Commission under General Grenville Dodge, wrote from Fort Halleck, D.T., in 1867:

No band of rovers ever lived better than we do, and I doubt if any rich person in his town house or country retreat commands such luxuries as daily attends us. Our existence is a continual round of pleasure and comfort . . . We breakfast not only on "bacon and hardtack" . . . we have on the table broiled antelope or elk steaks, garnished with the kidneys or livers of those animals, nicely cooked potatoes and onions and the most delicious of fish—trout, trout as large as the largest you see at home in the springtime, good hot coffee,

9. Mrs. Charles Ellis, "Robert Foote," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 15, No. 1, p. 56.

10. Robert A. Murray, "Prices and Wages at Fort Laramie 1881-1885," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 36, No. 1, p. 19.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

13. Leodegar Schnyder to Lieutenant Richard B. Garnett, Oct. 8, 1853, Fort Meyer Archives, in John Dishon McDermott, "Fort Laramie's Silent Soldier," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 11-13.

pure white sugar, hot cakes and golden syrup make up the meal . . . since I have left Crow Creek, I have feasted on the meat of elk, antelope, black tailed deer, rabbit, grouse, pheasant, sage hen and trout. Delmonico of New York and Parker House of Boston may outdo us in plate and ornaments of the table, but we can excel in the richness and variety of food.¹⁴

Major Perry was more fortunate than most of the military in the Wyoming area at this time. Some, like Major Andrew Burt, were wise enough to purchase a cow and a few chickens before leaving Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, for Fort Bridger, Wyoming, in 1866.¹⁵ This allowed them fresh eggs, milk, cream butter, and even ice cream, with the aid of ice from the Fort Bridger ice house. But apart from these luxuries, plus fresh beef from the herd of John Robertson (also fondly termed "Uncle Jack Robinson") their daily fare was very unexciting. Mrs. Burt said:

In the valley there was no garden and consequently we had no vegetables, unless they were brought from Salt Lake City, and this made them too expensive to indulge in, except on rare occasions.¹⁶

In addition, they were able to obtain desicated vegetables, which they tried once and, sorely disappointed, never again added them to their larder. However, desicated vegetables were a mainstay of the soldiers' diet. They are described as being made of "onions, cabbages, beets, turnips, carrots and peppers steamed, pressed and dried. They were pressed, after they were dry, into cakes twelve inches square and an inch thick."¹⁷ The poor private, earning but \$13 a month, had the choice of eating this mushy mixture or going hungry. To grow a garden was next to impossible, for if anything would grow in the sandy, alkaline soil, it more than likely provided a meal for a regiment of grasshoppers.¹⁸ In fact, fresh vegetables were virtually unobtainable in many forts, particularly those of the Bozeman Trail, (Forts Reno, Phil Kearny and C. F. Smith).¹⁹

The result of poor diet among the enlisted men can be seen through the high incidence of scurvy and desertion. Scurvy was prevalent every winter in most of the frontier forts and was constantly mentioned by the post surgeons. Many cases occurred during the winter of 1867 at Fort Phil Kearny and Fort C. F. Smith, with some deaths resulting.²⁰ In the same year, Colonel

14. Parry, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139.

15. Mattes, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

17. Eugene F. Ware, *The Indian War of 1864* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1960), p. 282.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-200; also Mattes, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

19. William Murphy, "The Forgotten Battalion," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 392.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 393.

George Armstrong Custer laid the blame for poor food on the Government contractors:

Dishonest contractors at the receiving depots further east had been permitted to perpetrate gross frauds upon the government, the result of which was to produce want and suffering among the men. For example, unbroken packages of provisions shipped from the main depot of supplies . . . were when opened discovered to contain huge stones for which the government had paid so much per pound according to contract price. Boxes of bread were shipped and issued to the soldiers of my command, the elements of which had been baked in 1861, yet this was 1867 . . . Bad provisions were a fruitful cause of bad health . . . scurvy made its appearance . . . for all these evils desertion became the most popular antidote. To such an extent was this the case, that in one year one regiment lost by desertion alone more than half of its effective force.²¹

If located at an army post, extra provisions could normally be obtained through the post sutler whose store was the only one available and who thus enjoyed a monopoly, though his prices were under the control of the post commander. In 1852 and 1853 at the Fort Laramie sutler's store, a loaf of bread could be obtained for 60¢, while in Chicago that same loaf was selling for only 10¢; in addition, vinegar cost \$2 per gallon, tea, \$21 per pound, dried apples, \$12 a bushel, flour, \$12-\$18 per 100-pound sack, bottled peaches, \$4 per quart, and whiskey was \$1 per pint." By 1888, with the aid of the railroad and despite inflation, flour was only \$4.50-\$6 per 100-pound sack, vinegar, 65¢-75¢ per gallon, dried apples, \$21 per 100 pounds, peaches, 27½¢ per quart can, and whiskey had risen to \$1.50 per pint.²²

When on the march, which was frequently all summer and occasionally during the winter, the soldier was dependent on his rations, which were subject to reduction during shortages, and whatever wild game could be had.²³

Occasionally visiting officers would drop in while a regiment was on the march. Such events could cause considerable problems when it came to feeding these guests, particularly because fresh provisions were eaten quickly in order to prevent spoilage. Elizabeth Custer, while accompanying her husband during the summer of 1868, gives an account of how this problem was dealt with:

He (Colonel Custer) offered to take the people off to see the horses, the camp, the stream on which we lived, the bluff beyond, to view the vastness of the plains. Then, left to ourselves, we sent around at

21. George Armstrong Custer, *My Life on the Plains*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 64.

22. Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

23. Diary of Henry A. Peirce, in Richard D. Rowen, ed., "The Second Nebraska's Campaign Against the Sioux," *Nebraska History*, Vol. 44, No. 1, p. 27.

once to the other messes to find if anyone had meat, game, eggs, or anything cookable. If they failed us, as they generally did . . . then the commissary ham or bacon, often inexpressibly salty and dry, became the piece de resistance for the hurried breakfast table. (But) the undaunted head of the house came back with his people in fine humor, and managed to whisper to me in a roguish manner, "I've got them good and hungry; they won't mind what they eat now."²⁴

A story told by this same lady mentions an officer, who though low on supplies, was nevertheless still hospitable, and invited a guest to a dinner consisting of two dishes: "When one, the rice, was declined, he was asked to help himself to the mustard!"²⁵

While the soldiers were stationed in their forts, they usually had a little more time to devote to entertainment than when in the field. A variety of amusements were enjoyed which included dancing, theatricals, musical performances, card playing and drinking parties, horse racing, story telling and reading and writing letters.

Dancing generally fell into two categories; first, as a participating pastime and, secondly, as a spectator sport. Of the former, there are many references found in accounts of the period. Typically, where officers and their wives were present, Mrs. Burt gives an insight:

We had many dances and social gatherings, all at our houses . . . Colonel Reeve added greatly to our pleasure by his cordiality and kindness and often called the figures for the young people in the square dances, in the merriest manner. "Forward", "a la main left", "ladies to the right" sound faintly in my ears now. The two step was then unknown, but we waltzed with delight, and danced the "galop!"²⁶

Other dance steps of the day included the polka, schottische, Virginia Reel, and the quadrille.²⁷

The enlisted men were less fortunate when it came to finding dancing partners, particularly if the post were a remote one. Nevertheless, they might be held quite frequently, using other soldiers as dancing partners. Private H. Harbers recalled that "dances were given bymonthly [*sic*] by the companies and the strongest drink we could get would be lemonade" while at Camp Sully in the early 1870s.²⁸ However, 7th Cavalryman Ami Frank Mulford preferred "stag" dances in 1877 because such dances were "when we have all the fun by ourselves and no officer to bother us. We dance all the popular dances and take turns being the opposite sex."²⁹

24. Elizabeth B. Custer, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

26. Mattes, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

27. Alice Mathews Shields, ed. "Army Life on the Wyoming Frontier," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 339.

28. Don Rickey, Jr., *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 198.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

The spectator sport consisted of visiting a local Indian village to witness a scalp dance or other variety of Indian dance. These were usually highly colorful affairs with the Indian men being nearly naked, while their women wore their finest buckskins in which were set the most beautiful beadwork.³⁰ The reaction to these dances by white observers often lacked appreciation of the Indian style. Mrs. Canfield termed them "ridiculous,"³¹ while Private Henry Pierce decided that they were too "wild and radical to us still."³²

A more tranquil form of entertainment, theatricals, was found in several forts in Wyoming. While at Fort D. A. Russell, near present-day Cheyenne, Mrs. Burt commented:

Among the officers and ladies enough theatrical talent appeared to make it possible to place on the stage many very entertaining plays such as "Caste" . . . "Lend Me Five Shillings" and others . . . Mrs. Royall as the duchess, with her young daughter as the prince, assisted by Major Burt as Ruy Gomez made "Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady" a brilliant success.³³

Few forts were fortunate enough to enjoy the talents of Major Burt. During the 1880s he published and produced two plays that enjoyed considerable success in New York and Chicago.³⁴

Theatricals and the like were particularly useful in whiling away the long hours of the winter evenings, and since there were almost always a few men with acting ability, performances were staged frequently. "They were generally of some light, witty, flashy kind, with an occasional heavy piece from Shakespeare."³⁵

Where regimental bands were stationed at a particular fort, there was no want for music. Where this was lacking, there were usually enough men musically inclined to put together an ensemble, often with the added attraction of good voices harmoniously blended. At Fort Laramie in 1864, the men organized a Glee Club and, accompanied by musicians, serenaded various officers and places, even the sutler's store.³⁶ There was also musical ability among the ladies, who would lend their talents to the social entertainment.

30. Agnes Wright Spring, "An Army Wife Comes West, *Colorado Magazine*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 258-259, contains an excellent description of just such a dance.

31. Ray H. Mattison, ed., "An Army Wife on the Upper Missouri," *North Dakota History*, Vol. 20, No. 4, p. 207.

32. Peirce diary, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

33. Mattes, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

34. Mattes, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-246. The names of his plays were "May Cody; or Lost and Won," starring "The Honorable W. F. Cody," and "Robin Hood and Rosalinda," a comedy opera. Both works were produced in 1882; not bad for a man described by General Sheridan as one of the very best Indian fighters in the game.

35. Ware, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

Mrs. Burt mentioned that "to hear Mrs. Bradley's rich soprano voice sing 'Robin Adair' is recalled . . . as a rare delight."³⁷ Minstrel shows were popular in this day to the extent that one group, "The California Minstrels," made up of soldiers at Fort Bridger, felt they were good enough to demand an admission charge of 50 cents.³⁸

Margaret Carrington told of a cheerful evening in 1866 when the officers and men of the 18th U.S. Infantry got together for entertainment.

The stringband gave us a splendid orchestra, and the violins and violin-cello, the clarinets and the flute, the french horns and the trumpet, the trombone and the tuba, alternately supplied the solo, or replenished the chorus, as the bones and banjo called for their interference. Faces only were unfamiliar; and the fifteen or twenty sergeants and soldiers who, with fine voices, perfect harmony, and the usual bon mots of Ethiopian Minstrelsy . . . did as full justice to their music as they had effectually transformed themselves from Caucasian to African by the pervasive laws of burnt cork.³⁹

The more remote the location, the fewer the opportunities and variety of entertainment; this was the rule that governed any locality. From December, 1867, until April, 1868, Fort C. F. Smith, the last post on the Bozeman Trail, was totally isolated due to the activities of Red Cloud's band, who vigorously opposed the intrusion of white soldiers. Consequently, their fund of activities was limited. At Fort Laramie the soldiers enjoyed every entertainment available. Card playing and drinking played a prominent role in leisure time activities. Since social etiquette forbade drinking and gambling in the presence of women the officers would retire to the back room of the sutler's store where an almost continuous game of poker was going on.⁴⁰

In this respect the officers were little different from the men. Harry Young points out that the majority of officers were "heavy gamblers and hard drinkers." Often they gambled with civilian contractors who were at a distinct disadvantage. "If the officers were heavy losers, which was frequently the case, they would give their I.O.U.s in settlement, but which they never intended to pay, and the citizens never dared to enforce payment, because, on account of their contracts, they were . . . in the clutches of the officers," who decided who would get contracts.⁴¹

The enlisted man could find similar amusement at the local

37. Mattes, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

38. James Stuart, "The Yellowstone Expedition of 1863," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, Vol. 1, p. 196.

39. Margaret Carrington, *AB-SA-RA-KA*, (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1879), pp. 51-52.

40. Ware, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

41. Harry Young, *Hard Knocks*, (Chicago: Laird & Lee, 1915), p. 83.

civilian dives, popularly known as 'hog ranches.' Payday was his big opportunity, followed by a day of more or less convalescent activity. Of payday at Fort Laramie on July 29, 1870, the surgeon wrote that the troops were paid in the afternoon, and "as a necessary consequence, the number of patients in the hospital was at once increased, with nothing, however, more serious than a broken rib or two, several sprains, and bruises with a few scalp wounds . . . pay-day casualties."⁴² Doubtless they were accompanied by the universal hangover!

The one exception for drinking permitted in the presence of ladies occurred when parties took place during the Christmas season. These annual festivities were the excuse for lavish dinner parties, often two or three being attended by the officers and their wives during the course of an evening. Rarely seen delicacies appeared on the table, having been carefully hoarded for this purpose. Describing Christmas at Fort Laramie in 1863, Mrs. Collins says:

The tables, 3 long ones, accomodated about 75 . . . They had roast pig, roast beef and cold broiled ham, jellies, pickles, coffee, tea, peaches, cake, mince pie and ice cream . . . we have another invitation for cake and eggnog at Mrs. Bullock's (tonight) . . . and there were a few songs sung . . . a serenade from the band who played 'Home Sweet Home' and 'Soft in the Silly Night'.⁴³

Christmas at Fort C. F. Smith in 1867 was an affair that reflected a diminishing food supply that was to leave the garrison on a diet of corn before fresh supplies were received by them the following spring. Mrs. Burt's account states that:

For our Christmas dinner . . . beside a roast of venison, which replaced turkey, we revelled in our one precious can of currant jelly and the highly prized cans of corn and tomatoes. A delicious entree was a venison pate made and cooked by a soldier, a Frenchman by birth, who excelled in making this special dish. Raisins brought by us for this very occasion enabled me to have the pleasure of delighting, with plum pudding, the appetites of three bachelor friends who . . . pronounced the dinner a complete success.⁴⁴

During the warm summer months, a popular diversion was to be found in horse and mule racing. Nearly every troop of cavalry had a horse that the men felt would run. When a company of cavalry visited another troop, the inevitable result of a brag would be a challenge. Colonel Homer Wheeler described such an event near Fort Washakie in the 1870s:

We had a horse in L troop ridden by Trumpeter Bandsome which was supposed to be a world beater. I arranged a race with one of the

42. Rickey, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

43. Spring, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253, 255.

44. Mattes, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

officers of the 3rd cavalry, his troop belonging to the regular garrison . . . The race was for a stake of fifty dollars, and the distance was four hundred yards. At the appointed time the whole command turned out to witness the race. There was a crowd of several hundred including Indians . . . The horses got off in good shape. They were neck and neck for the first few yards, then the horses would alternately forge ahead. I had arrived at the conclusion that the third cavalry horse was the better of the two. Near the finish he was a little ahead . . . suddenly he flew the track, attempting to go for the stable, which was nearby. The rider, in trying to keep the animal on the track, pulled him up just enough to allow my horse to pass. The judges decided the fifth cavalry horse had won the race.⁴⁵

Mule racing was usually what was called a slow race. The last mule to cross the line won, and sometimes, the character of the mule being what it is, the "races" would last more than an hour. In selecting a mule, the meanest, orneriest animal would be picked out, and then, prior to the start, the riders would switch mounts. In this way no one could be sure of what he was going to ride.⁴⁶

For those who had the ability, reading and writing helped to while away the hours. A great debt is herein owed to those who spent their time in this manner and whose writings were saved to be examined later by historians; these writings have enabled the latter to determine various aspects of frontier life. Many officers and men kept journals and diaries while others saved the letters of their kinfolk and friends.

(Some of the forts in the Wyoming area had libraries, or access might be given by a civilian to a private collection. Judge William A. Carter, post sutler at Fort Bridger, and a man noted for his hospitality, was said to have the best collection of books in Wyoming up to the time of his death in 1881.⁴⁷ He hired a governess in 1860 for his children and allowed others to attend free of charge. Miss Fannie Foote was the first teacher at his little school, and a building was constructed in 1866 to house the growing number of children in attendance. In a similar vein, he allowed those who wished to use his library facilities.) The first school in Wyoming was conducted at Fort Laramie in 1852 by the Reverend Richard Vaux, post chaplain, for the children of officers.⁴⁸ In 1868 the post surgeon at Fort Laramie noted that enlisted men could attend

45. Colonel Homer Wheeler, *Buffalo Days*, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1923), pp. 120-121.

46. Custer, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-146.

47. R. S. Ellison, *Fort Bridger, Wyoming, A Brief History*, (Sheridan: Mills Co., 1938), p. 72.

48. George Justine Bale, "A History of the Development of Territorial Public Education in the State of Wyoming 1869-1890," MA Thesis, University of Colorado, 1938, from an excerpt, *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 9.

evening classes held by the post chaplain if they wished to do so.⁴⁹ He also made note of reading facilities in the same year:

There is a post library in the adjutant's office containing about 300 old, nearly worn out books. A number of papers and periodicals are subscribed for from the post general fund and kept in the library room to which the enlisted men have access.⁵⁰

Poor though these collections may seem to the modern reader, accustomed as he is to his town or university library with its tens of thousands of dusty volumes, they were nevertheless superior collections to those available to most soldiers on the Wyoming frontier. The other sources of reading material were mail and newspapers, and with irregular delivery due to the activities of hostile Indians, particularly noticable in the 1860s, it might be several weeks before receiving new sources of information and pleasure.

When all else failed, a good storyteller could bridge the gap between the mails. One of the most famous of these entertainers was Jim Bridger, who served for many years as a professional scout throughout Wyoming. His accounts of the spectacular scenes in the Yellowstone area, which he had apparently visited in 1844, were, for a long time, doubted or accepted with tongue in cheek. Nevertheless, a pushy or gullible listener could easily be drawn in. One day in 1866, while captain Anson Mills was in command at Fort Bridger, a British officer arrived on the overland stage on his way around the world. On meeting the famous Jim Bridger, the Englishman pressed the scout for some interesting accounts of his experiences. Reluctantly, Bridger told the following story:

Well, I think the most thrilling adventure I ever had on the frontier was in the winter of 1855, when Jack Robinson and I went trapping about two hundred miles down the Green River in the Ute country. We knew the Utes were unfriendly, but we did not think they were warlike, so we got two horses and a pack outfit and in December went into camp on the Green River. We had spent two months trapping, and were about ready to return, when early one morning we saw a large party of warriors coming up the stream. We had only time to saddle our horses, gather our rifles and ammunition and mount. We estimated their party at about one hundred, and started up the river at full speed, abandoning everything we had in camp.

As we became hard pressed, one of us would dismount and fire, then mount and pass the other, and he would dismount and fire, and so continuing, checking our pursuers until we gained some ground. We continued this method of defense all day, and by night had killed some thirty of the Indians . . . The next day . . . (after hiding in timber that night) . . . we started to lead our horses out . . . but had no sooner started than we heard the Indians behind us.

49. Rickey, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

We continued our defense until two o'clock, when we had killed thirty more of the Indians. This left only about forty to continue the pursuit, but they did not seem at all discouraged . . . By this time our broken horses began to give way at the knees. Observing a narrow canyon, we concluded to follow it as it gave us a better chance of defense than the open . . . Matters were desperate. The canyon walls were perpendicular, three hundred feet high, and growing narrower every mile. Suddenly, around a bend in the canyon, we saw a waterfall, two hundred feet high completely blocking our exit.

Here Mr. Bridger paused. The captain all aglow with interest cried anxiously, 'Go on, Mr. Bridger, go on! How did you get out?'

'Oh, bless your soul, captain,' answered Bridger, 'we never did get out. The Indians killed us right there!'⁵¹

After the chuckles had died away, and if the tenderfoot had accepted the jibe good naturedly, the conversation might turn to other pastimes. Hunting was a popular topic.

Almost without exception, every book and article about this period is filled with accounts of the quantity of fish and game seen in the Wyoming area. This is particularly true of the time prior to 1890, after which, due to the wholesale slaughter taking place, there was a considerable reduction in numbers of animals, most notably, the buffalo. With the opportunity for sport laid virtually on their doorstep, the officers, and to a lesser extent the men, engaged in frequent excursions in search of game.

In the spring of 1867, while engaged in his first expedition against the Indians, Colonel Custer had an experience that might have prevented the massacre at the Little Big Horn nine years later. Seeing some antelope two miles ahead of his column, Custer, accompanied by his bugler and hunting dogs, gave chase. After riding at full speed for several miles, he realized that his dogs could never run down the antelope, so he called them off. By this time, his bugler, being mounted on "a common-bred animal," had fallen far behind and had rejoined the column, which was no longer within the range of Custer's vision. While attempting to ascertain how far he was from his troops, he spotted a very large buffalo, gave chase, and in doing so, ran a considerable distance further. He was able to run the buffalo to a point where it became tired and winded, whereupon Custer prepared to dispatch the magnificent animal with his revolver. Without warning, the buffalo wheeled and attempted to gore his horse, with Custer's reaction as follows:

So sudden was this movement, and so sudden was the corresponding veering of my horse to avoid the attack, that . . . my finger, in the

51. Ellison, *op. cit.*, p. 49-51, from Anson Mills "My Story," (Washington, D.C.: The Author, 1918). Also mentioned by Colonel Homer Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-71.

excitement of the occasion pressed the trigger, discharged the pistol, and sent the fatal ball into the very brain of the noble animal I rode.

Having dispatched his horse, Custer was left alone on foot in hostile Indian territory facing an angry buffalo. Fortunately, or unfortunately, depending on the reader's point of view, he survived both dangers.⁵²

Occasionally an opportunity to demonstrate his courage was presented to the hunter, and this usually involved the grizzly bear, a formidable foe. During the Powder River campaign of 1865, Captain Palmer, accompanied by General Patrick Connor and some members of his staff, chanced upon a huge grizzly while out hunting one day. According to Captain Palmer:

One of our party, Trainmaster Wheeling, with more daring than the rest of us cared to exhibit, rode up to within a few rods of the patch [of plum bushes in which the bear was sheltering]; the bear would rush out after him . . . close to his heels, snapping and growling, at the same time receiving the fire of our Sharps rifles. After receiving same, Mr. Grizzley would retire and again Wheeling would draw him out of the plum patch.

It took 23 balls to kill the ferocious animal which weighed 1800 pounds according to the best estimate.⁵³

On another occasion, an account of a hunt is given by John F. Finerty while on the Yellowstone Expedition of 1876. Becoming separated from the rest of their party, Finerty and Colonel Anson Mills spotted a couple of buffalo in the Big Horn Mountains of northern Wyoming. After shooting both of them, they took only the tongues, despite being well mounted and able to carry considerably more.⁵⁴ The tales of such waste are legion in the old days of the West, although the military were normally less guilty of this crime by virtue of having more mouths to feed. With the large amounts of game being killed, the enlisted men usually benefited from the leavings of the officers and often enjoyed the privilege of participating in the hunt.

Elizabeth Custer points out that there used to be so many wild turkeys in 1868 "that the soldiers' messes had all they wanted while the command remained in the locality they frequented." For example:

At one point . . . General Sheridan and his staff came upon an immense number of turkeys . . . Between half-past five and half-past seven they killed sixty-three with rifles . . . This officer remembers to have seen General Custer cut the head from a turkey with a Spencer

52. George Armstrong Custer, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-52.

53. LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, ed., Captain H. E. Palmer's account of the Conner Expedition, in *Powder River Campaigns and Sawyers Expedition of 1865, Far West and the Rockies Historical Series*, Vol. XII, p. 123.

54. Finerty, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

repeating rifle at two hundred yards. The poor soldiers, armed only with their short range carbines, of course saw many a shot go foul, but if they happened to be the selected orderlies of the officers they were often permitted to use the rifle . . . One of the officers afforded great amusement at the time . . . because of an attack of "buck fever." At sight of a tree weighed down to the ends of the branches with turkeys, he became incapable of loading, to say nothing of firing, his gun; he could do nothing but lie down, great strong man as he was, completely overcome with excitement.⁵⁵

Trout fishing was another sport that provided excitement and action for the members of the military during moments of leisure. It was also a sport in which the wives could, if they chose, participate. Sarah Canfield noted in her diary an afternoon in 1866 when:

We went fishing today in the Judith River which is a beautiful mountain stream. Nahum [her husband, Lt. Canfield] caught some grasshoppers for bait and baited my hook which I threw into a quiet pool near the bank. Before he had time to bait his own hook, I landed on the bank a fish weighing about 5 lbs. I repeated the performance four times then when he had caught three or four, we went to the Ft. [sic] with fish enough to share with the officers.⁵⁶

While at Fort Bridger, Major Burt frequently took Mrs. Burt and their small child to any one of a number of different streams in the area. Fort Bridger is located between the Hams Fork and Black's Fork of the Green River, which even today provides rewarding angling to those interested in this art. Mrs. Burt, while commenting on her own lack of skill, pointed out that "men who wear rubber boots and wade out into the rushing water rather rejoice in casting a fly under these difficulties."⁵⁷ At the other extreme from the art of fishing, seining with a net was used by the enlisted men with considerable results. On one occasion 1200 trout were caught in a relatively short period of time.⁵⁸

Thus, despite the rigors of military life in frontier Wyoming, sufficient diversion was available in order to make that way of life palatable. Certainly a rosy enough picture could be painted to attract the civilian who might be in search of the good life. However, he should give thought to the advice one soldier offered his brother in September 1858:

You frequently hear people say if you are too lazy to work, enlist. Now, if you think that a soldier's life is a lazy one, you will find

55. Elizabeth B. Custer, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

56. Mattison, *op. cit.*, p. 212-213.

57. Mattes, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

58. I. R. Conniss, ed., "Recollections of Taylor Pennock," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2, p. 208.

yourself much mistaken . . . I am well enough satisfied, but, Frederick, NEVER ENLIST!⁵⁹

Doubtless this was good advice, as the soldiers' day was normally so filled with duties that there was but little time for pursuit of pleasure. The soldiers' life was a rough, unenviable one whose days were long and whose rewards were short. If he were an officer, his position was endowed with many benefits and often he thoroughly enjoyed the way of life. On the other hand, the ordinary soldier received few favors, and the high evidence of desertion attested to his honest opinion of army life. Without the benefit of a little whiskey and card playing, hunting and fishing, music and theatricals, or an occasional delicacy from the sutler's store, it is probable the desertion rate would have been far higher, and certainly life in a state prison could have been no worse. The amusements available, therefore, were the necessary anesthetic to this otherwise austere and often dangerous way of life. Few complaints were written, but there are suggestions that many were voiced, and it is doubtful that discipline alone would have mastered the headstrong American spirit that surged through these soldiers' veins.

Hence the role of the social and domestic life of the military was of crucial importance to the success of military operations in Wyoming. It would be pure speculation to attempt to determine the effects of there being no military support for white expansion in this area, but doubtless it would have been significant. The importance of military operations to the success of white expansionism is comparable to the importance of social history to the politico-diplomatic historical complex. To a very large extent, it can be safely assumed that the one would not have occurred without the aid of the other.

APPENDIX

During the period covered by this paper, Wyoming belonged to the following Territories:

Nebraska Territory: May 30, 1854 to March 3, 1863.

Idaho Territory: March 3, 1863 to May 26, 1864.

Dakota Territory: May 26, 1864 to July 29, 1868.

Wyoming Territory: July 29, 1868 to July 10, 1890.

On July 10, 1890, Wyoming became a state.

59. C. E. Gould to Frederick Gould, Letter of Sept. 24, 1858, in "Soldiering on the Frontier," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 35, No. 1, pp. 83-84.

VEGETABLES

Vegetables of all kinds should be thoroughly picked over, throwing out all decayed or unripe parts, then well washed in several waters. Most vegetables, when peeled, are better when laid in cold water a short time before cooking. When partly cooked a little salt should be thrown into the water in which they are boiled, and they should cook steadily after they are put on, not allowed to stop boiling or simmering until they are thoroughly done. Every sort of culinary vegetable is much better when freshly gathered and cooked as soon as possible, and, when done, thoroughly drained, and served immediately while hot.

Onions, cabbage, carrots and turnips should be cooked in a great deal of water, boiled only long enough to sufficiently cook them, and immediately drained. Longer boiling makes them insipid in taste, and with *too little* water they turn a dark color.

Potatoes rank first in importance in the vegetable line, and consequently should be properly served. It requires some little intelligence to cook even so simple and common a dish as boiled potatoes. In the first place, all defective or green ones should be cast out; a bad one will flavor a whole dish. If they are not uniform in size, they should be made so by cutting after they are peeled. The best part of a potato, or the most nutritious, is next to the skin, therefore they should be pared very thinly, if at all; then, if old, the cores should be cut out, thrown into *cold* water salted a little, and boiled until soft enough for a fork to pierce through easily; drain immediately, and replace the kettle on the fire with the cover partly removed, until they are completely dried. New potatoes should be put into boiling water, and when partly done salted a little. They should be prepared just in time for cooking, by scraping off the thin outside skin. They require about twenty minutes to boil.

Potato Snow

Choose some mealy potatoes that will boil exceedingly white; pare them, and cook them well, but not so as to be watery; drain them, and mash and season them well. Put in the sauce-pan in which they were dressed, so as to keep them as hot as possible; then press them through a wire sieve into the dish in which they are to be served; strew a little fine salt upon them previous to sending them to table. French cooks also add a small quantity of pounded loaf sugar while they are being mashed.



Quest for La Bonte Nears End

By

PEG LAYTON LEONARD

"La Bonte Creek in Converse County, Wyoming, begins as a stream in the Laramie Peak region and the adjacent mountains of the Medicine Bow National Forest and, like many other creeks and rivers, eventually falls into the thousand-mile-long North Platte River and thence to the wide Missouri." So begins the authentic story of eastern Wyoming's well-known La Bonte Creek, as researched by Pierre (Pete) La Bonte, Jr. for his historical account, "La Bonte—Mountain Man of the Creek" (1969).

La Bonte, a Massachusetts newspaper advertising executive, first became aware of Wyoming's "La Bonte link" in history in 1954. Since that time he has devoted much time and effort in pursuit of information leading to the exact man for whom Converse County's creek, La Bonte community and La Bonte Hotel in Douglas were named. For 15 consecutive summers, Pete La Bonte traveled in Wyoming, first, to see what information he could uncover about this mystery man who left his name so indelibly marked in the annals of Wyoming history, and secondly, to learn if his own lineage could be traced to him.

Among Wyoming's many streams, the La Bonte is quite special in that it has gathered considerable history during its known existence since the days of the explorer, the fur trader and the mountain man trapper.

"Its background," writes La Bonte, "deserves to be recalled by presenting here factual evidence obtained from early journals, diaries and histories written mostly by men who were there, proving that the hunter, mountain man, trapper La Bonte, supposedly located on the creek, was really there."

LaBonte states earlier in his account that contemporary historians, including the late Bernard De Voto, had flatly denied that any La Bonte or La Bontes, save Louis and Jean-Baptiste La Bonte (as history records, they were among the 45 engages of the overland

(See photo opposite page)

Smathers Photo

La Bonte Creek at its confluence with the North Platte River, 10 miles south of Douglas. The broad bottom meadow, photographed from a 150-foot river bluff looking southwest toward Laramie Peak, is from all descriptions, the historical site of Trapper La Bonte's "camp", mentioned in early-day journals and diaries of trappers and emigrants who were in the area in the early 1800s.

party led west in 1810 by William Price Hunt) had ever set foot in the Rockies. After Hunt's unsuccessful Astorian venture broke up, these two La Bontes never retraced their steps. They stayed in the Pacific Northwest and later took service with the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver.

"The first authentic account of a La Bonte," notes Pete, "appears in the 1802-1812 account book of fur trader Pierre Chouteau, Sr., now in the archives of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri."

In the "Diary of William H. Ashley" (March 25 to June 27, 1825), edited by Dale L. Morgan in the April, 1955, *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, are a number of items relating to Ashley's dealings with trappers of the Provost party (at rendezvous July 1, 1825) in which group a La Bonte is identified several times.

Morgan states that a David La Bonte figures in the account books in the 1830s and 1840s. In addition to "David" La Bonte in the American Fur Company accounts, the Missouri Historical Society has on record a "Daniel" La Bonte (1841-1852), an "Etienne" La Bonte (1831-1836), and a "Rousseau" La Bonte (1827-1839).

"The Thoroughness of Morgan's findings are irrefutable," comments La Bonte. "No La Bonte in the records? Indeed there is. Not only one but FOUR La Bontes were recorded as having been in the Rocky Mountains at one time or another from 1802-1852."

In Mr. Morgan's more recent work, *The Rocky Mountain Journals of William Marshall Anderson. The West in 1834*, (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1967), the following appears: "August 19, 1834—. . . We laid by this evening at La Bonte's camp for the purpose of having some mules shod . . ."

Again, on August 19, ". . . We stopped early at La Bontee's cabins, to shoe the horses and mules of three men to be sent express to the Bluffs. Mr. Fitzpatrick and I will accompany them, to Fort William on Laramie's Fork, where we will remain until the company shall overtake us. . . ."

According to Morgan's footnotes:

Anderson's use of the expressions "La Bonte's camp" and la Bonte's cabins" is tantalizing, for the name reflects some incident of the fur trade era, undated and unexplained, from which La Bonte Creek derived its name. Rufus Sage, passing by with a company of trappers toward the end of February 1842, "encamped at the forks of a small stream called La Bonte's Creek. Near the confluence of its waters with the Platte are the remains of a log cabin, occupied by a trading party several years since" (*Scenes in the Rocky Mountains*, p. 114). Field's account of the Hiram Scott tragedy, written in 1843, mentioned Scott's having become too ill to ride a horse at "a point known as 'Lebonte's Cabin,' on the Sweetwater" [i.e., the North Platte] (*Prairie and Mountain Sketches*, p. 64). Theodore Talbot on Aug. 7, 1843, alluded to "the valley of 'LaBonte's cabins,'" (*Journals*, p. 35); and Francis Parkman, between June 21 and July 10, 1846, referred to "LaBonte's Camp" (*Journals*, II, 445-454).

"We learn so much from Morgan's footnotes," continues Pete. "They again confirm the presence of a La Bonte or La Bontes in the Rocky Mountains, as did Ashley's book of account."

To sum up: Morgan infers quite logically that David La Bonte (rather than Davis, it being a French name) was the "possible" La Bonte who established his camp on the North Platte at its junction with La Bonte Creek. Taking it from this fair judgment and there being no other possibility, then David La Bonte who was "out of employ" after leaving Taos and who was no doubt familiar with the creek area, having trapped it during previous seasons, could have selected this camp site for good reasons.

Principally, the spot was on the Oregon Trail, the earliest of roads west. He could have contact and trade with the travelers and shoe horses, as it appears he did for Anderson's party. This probably was his occupation during the summer. Winters would find him at his former trade of trapping on his own account on many creeks and streams of the area. What better selection for greater contentment for a Mountain Man than this yet unnamed location—"La Bonte's Camp?"

In describing the locale, La Bonte writes, "Today, the two forks which feed the main La Bonte, irrigate the ranches of the La Bonte community, an area of about 50 square miles.



PIERRE (PETE) LA BONTE

"As the creek flows northward, it passes near the site of the old La Bonte Pony Express Station (Camp Marshall, 1863) on the Oregon Trail. Here, also, a few yards away, is a stone marker inscribed by the late L. C. (Clark) Bishop and the late Albert G. Sims, which indicates the spot where Bill Hooker, bullwhacker-freighter, had his dugout cabin in the 1870s.

"Six miles further downstream, La Bonte Creek comes to a broad bottom meadow of some 40 acres and at last empties into the North Platte.

"From all known descriptions in the records of early day Oregon Trail travelers this, therefore, is the site they called 'La Bonte's Camp'—'at the confluence of La Bonte Creek and the North Platte River.' It can be nowhere else."

La Bonte concludes his historical account, "La Bonte—Mountain Man of the Creek," by stating that it was Paul Henderson, historian and Western trail buff of Bridgeport, Nebraska, who, upon reading Anderson's *Journals* in 1968, called his attention to

Dale Morgan's footnotes regarding La Bonte's Camp, purportedly located on La Bonte Creek south of Douglas.

It was agreed between Henderson and La Bonte that during the latter's trip to Wyoming that coming summer, the two of them would look over the site. So it was in July, 1968, according to La Bonte, that he, Henderson, and trail enthusiast Lyle Hildebrand of Douglas, found the "Camp" area in a meadow precisely as described by various Oregon Trail travelers.

Henderson passed over a number of places with a metal detector where, in all probability, a cabin, stable or shed for horseshoeing might have been. But he got no signal.

"The time spent there was only a couple of hours," writes La Bonte. "It would take days or weeks to do the work properly over the whole ground. We all concurred, however, that we had visited the actual 'La Bonte's Camp' at 'the confluence of the North Platte and La Bonte Creek.' Surely it could be nowhere else!"

This article updates "The Quest for La Bonte," by Pierre La Bonte, Jr., which was published in *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 27, No. 2, and coincides with the publication late in 1972 of the booklet, "Wyoming La Bonte Country," by Peg Layton Leonard. (Editor).

Wyoming State Historical Society

NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

Lusk, Wyoming

September 8-10, 1972

Registration for the nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Wyoming State Historical Society began at 7:00 p.m., Friday, September 8, 1972, in the D.A.R. cabin in George Washington Park. Ruby Wilkison entertained at the organ while members registered. Coffee, punch and homemade cookies were served.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

At 9:00 a.m. President William Dubois called the meeting to order in the Elks Lodge Room. After a welcoming speech by Joe Jones, mayor of Lusk, the business of the Society began.

Mr. Henry Jensen moved that the minutes of the 1971 annual meeting be dispensed with. The motion was seconded and carried. The minutes of the April Executive Committee meeting were read by the Secretary.

The Treasurer read the following report which was placed on file for audit:

TREASURER'S REPORT

September 11, 1971-September 9, 1972

Cash and Investments on hand September 11, 1971 \$22,508.12

Receipts

Dues	\$ 5,256.00	
Pinettes	8.00	
Interest (Savings)	1,262.53	
Life Members (3)	250.00	
Refunds	3.00	
Gift	5.00	6,784.53

Disbursements

Annals of Wyoming	4,347.78	
Annual meeting	200.00	
Awards		
Scholarship	\$200.00	
Grant in Aid	300.00	
Juniors		
County Chapters	400.00	900.00
Officer's Expenses		
President	235.00	
Secretary	120.00	
Others	100.00	455.00

Committee Expense			18.95
Printing			123.19
Trek			25.00
Postage			
Department	\$555.85		
Secretary	55.82	611.67	
Phone (Secretary)		22.21	
Bond, Secretary of State, bank checks		8.32	6,712.12
			<u>\$22,580.53</u>

ASSETS

Savings			
Certificate (Federal Bldg. & Loan)		\$11,594.89	
Certificate (Capitol Bldg. & Loan)		6,593.12	
Federal Building & Loan		1,390.87	
Federal Building & Loan (Memorial Fund)		579.13	
Capitol Building & Loan (Life Members)		768.49	
Cheyenne Federal Building & Loan		1,142.60	22,069.10
Cash			
Cash in First National Bank & Trust Co.			511.43
Cash & Investments on hand September 9, 1972			<u>\$22,580.53</u>

MEMBERSHIP

	1969	1970	1971	1972
Annual Members	1,278	1,396	1,284	1,138
Life Members	54	53	85	86

The President appointed Judge Reuel Armstrong as parliamentarian. W. N. Wibel, Ruth Hicks and Wanda Vasey were asked to audit the books and Molly Seneshale and Alice Antilla were appointed to the Resolutions Committee.

COMMITTEE REPORTS

Scholarship Dr. T. A. Larson explained the Scholarship and Grant in Aid Program. The Society offers grants to persons who will undertake to write histories of Wyoming counties. These awards amount to \$500—\$200 at the beginning of the project and \$300 upon completion. Holding such grants at the present time are: Robert Murray (Johnson County); Ray Pendergraft (Washakie County); Dorothy Milek (Hot Springs County). The Society also offers grants in aid for other projects which involve research and writing. These awards pay \$300 total: \$100 at the beginning and \$200 upon completion. Mrs. Karen Love completed her project in June of this year. It was a biography of J. B. Okie, well-known pioneer of Lost Cabin, Wyoming. Initial grants in aid have been made for two other projects: Gordon Chappell is making a study of the "Alliance of the United States Army and the Union

Pacific Railroad in Southern Wyoming" and Mike Lewellyn is studying the political career of John B. Kendrick.

Trek Henry Jensen stated that special thanks are due to the Carbon County Chapter for presenting an evening's entertainment before the trek and to the Fremont County Chapter for arranging the dinner Sunday evening in Lander. This was the biggest trek to date—300 participants and 110 cars. Several tourists joined the group by mistake. Some enjoyed themselves and some didn't.

Nominating Joe Laughton announced the members of his committee are Mabel Brown from Newcastle and Nancy Nichols from Casper.

OFFICER'S REPORTS

President, William R. Dubois: I considered it a great honor to be elected President of the Wyoming State Historical Society. Most certainly, I have been very proud to serve the group.

The most exciting event of the past year was the banquet in Cody honoring the 100th Anniversary of Yellowstone Park and the National Park Service. I was happy to have had the opportunity to attend. It was a great night in Wyoming history.

The Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Maurine Carley and I, with her sister and Mr. Robert Larson, made a tour around the state calling on 16 of the county chapters during June. We were impressed by the hospitality, the dedication and concern of the chapter officers, the interesting and excellent county museums, and by our beautiful state of Wyoming. I was able to call on the Natrona, Goshen and Fremont County Chapters at other times during the year.

The Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department under the direction of William Williams has progressed a great deal during the past year. My work with them has been rewarding. They have been helpful in many different aspects.

I feel that the Wyoming State Historical Society has a great deal of potential as a lobby group in the legislature. Saving and preserving our heritage is and should be our paramount goal and state help is necessary.

Our greatest need in the organization is more youth. These people will be the ones who will keep up with the preservation programs in the future. It is most important that we attract more young people into our membership.

First Vice President, Henry Chadey: 1. A series of workshops sponsored by the Historical Society and the Wyoming Archives and Historical Department was considered. The Historical Department is planning such a series in the future. These workshops would be planned to inform the public concerning various historical subjects: preservation, museums, etc. This project could be funded by a federal grant from the Council for the Humanities.

2. We are still working with the Wyoming Recreation Commission in developing a program of help for South Pass restoration. Basically the problem has been that money offered by the Society could not be matched with federal grants in aid. Future planning should be done in cooperation with the Wyoming Recreation Commission.
3. The State President was requested to offer the help of the Society to the Wyoming Bicentennial Commission in planning a program for 1976.

Second Vice President, Mrs. Betty Hayden: I would like to suggest that the Wyoming State Historical Society Awards Program needs careful revision. Categories should be changed and provision should be made for Junior Historians and for cash awards for the county projects. It is hoped that each Chapter will have an enthusiastic Awards Chairman who will submit nominations for awards each year.

Secretary, Miss Maurine Carley: I would like to plead with the Chapter secretaries to get their dues into the office as soon as possible after the first of the year. Also please notify the Archives and Historical Department, State Office Building, Cheyenne, about a change of address. It is costly to re-mail *Annals* and "History News."

For the second time, both last year and this year, I have had to withdraw \$600 from savings to meet our expenses. Everything seems to cost more, especially publication and postage. It is soon going to be necessary to raise the dues again.

In the last two years the cost of the *Annals* has increased from \$1.35 to \$1.52 to \$1.87 per copy. Since the Historical Society pays for most of the *Annals*, I suggest that the President of the Society be informed when bids for the *Annals* are presented. It upsets our budget when the *Annals* cost \$350 more than allocated.

Very soon we will have to pay for the use of the state computer to put the addresses on Society mail. The present addressograph is worn out.

Executive Secretary, William H. Williams: Mr. Williams introduced seven members of his staff, including Pat Hall, Director of the Wyoming Bicentennial Commission and Miss Selia Ribeiro, Mr. Hall's secretary. Regarding the oral history program, he reported that the Department has received a federal Humanities Grant to develop an oral history program and a trained coordinator will travel throughout the state in the next three months to conduct workshops and organize oral history groups. It is proposed that the Society take over the sales desk in both the Cheyenne and the Fort Bridger Museums as a money making project for the Society. However, a ruling has been requested from the Attorney General as to whether this may be done by a non-profit organization.

At 10:30 a break was enjoyed when coffee, juice, doughnuts and cookies were served by the ladies of the Niobrara County Chapter.

The rooms were gay with the beautiful gladioli brought by Mr. and Mrs. Dave Wasden of Cody.

After the break, Mr. Armstrong moved that Mr. Williams' proposal that the Society sell articles in the museums be referred to the Executive Committee. The motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Dubois announced that the next meeting of the Executive Committee will be in Casper on October 15. He emphasized that chapter presidents are members of the Executive Committee. The Secretary will inform the Committee of the time and place of this meeting.

Mr. Wibel reported that the Auditing Committee found the Treasurer's books to be correct and in order.

Mr. Dumbrell asked why the *Annals of Wyoming* were partially financed by the Society rather than by the Department. The President stated that this provision is in the constitution of the Wyoming State Historical Society.

In response to a question about membership, Mr. Dubois stated that the Society policy is for members to belong to both the state and county organizations.

Chapter treasurers were asked to get a tax form from their county tax office and to report on Form #990 as a "Tax Exempt" organization. There is a toll-free telephone number in Cheyenne which can be used if further information is needed.

Mr. Hall stated that the Bicentennial Commission was interested in suggestions for Wyoming's Bicentennial observance. He would like to organize a Bicentennial Committee within each community.

Miss Carley announced that plans for the 1973 Oregon Trail Trek from Farson to Cokeville have already started. Dr. Larson suggested that the Society might sponsor a special trek in 1976, the Bicentennial year.

Mrs. Claude Blakeslee from Casper suggested that three-year gift memberships in the Society be given to youths who have done something worthwhile in the historical field.

The President reported that an invitation for the 1973 state meeting was given last year by Big Horn County. J. W. Brazelton, for the Teton County Chapter, extended a verbal invitation for 1973. The Executive Committee will decide where the meeting will be held. The Sheridan County Chapter issued a written invitation for the 1974 Annual Meeting and the Fremont County Chapter gave a verbal invitation for the State Society to meet there in 1975.

CHAPTER REPORTS

Only highlights of chapter reports are given here. Complete reports are in the executive headquarters files.

Albany County Chapter (Dr. Larson). The Chapter helped finance the purchase of the Iverson property which is now the home of the Laramie Plains Museum. They are now trying to

collect early mowing machines, rakes, "go-devils" and stackers. The Chapter had an interesting meeting with a history class at the Junior High School. Their Old Time Ranch Tour was a success as usual.

Campbell County Chapter (Mrs. Josephine Lucas). Gillette is anxious to start a museum.

Carbon County Chapter (Mrs. Walter Lambertsen). The Carbon County Chapter was host for the 1972 trek members on the evening of July 15. The group gathered at the Jeffrey Center in Rawlins where they were entertained with refreshments and a clever skit called, "A Musical Trip on the Oregon Trail." On June 22 they met with Mr. Dubois and Miss Carley who were making their official visit.

Fremont County Chapter (Norbert Ribble). The programs this year have been of a very high caliber and of a fine historical character. Some of these were papers on Chief Washakie, historic Indian trails, early history of the Shoshone Indians and early Lander doctors. A contribution was made to the Foundation Fund. The Chapter hosted the Sunday dinner at the end of the trek.

Goshen County Chapter (James Petty). Monthly dinner meetings are held. An important new project was the establishment of a Goshen County historical file. Copies will be made of documents, publications, talks and interviews, which will be of interest to anyone researching Goshen County. There will be three copies of this file—one for the Society, one for Goshen County Library and one for Eastern Wyoming Community College. Two school buses were used on the successful local summer tour.

Hot Springs County Chapter (Mrs. Etta Payne). The residents of the Pioneer Home gave short reviews of their lives in Wyoming. The Chapter is also planning to erect a marker at the site of Gebo to preserve the history of this ghost town. A pot-luck picnic was held June 25. Residents of Pioneer Home, Canyon Village and Canyon Hills Manor were invited.

Johnson County Chapter (C. Vance Lucas). The stand-out activity of the Johnson County Chapter was their exhibit at the county fair in August. Stuart Frazier deserves much credit for making copies of the old photographs collected for the exhibit. Well over 500 people viewed the exhibit. One large meeting was held with the volunteers for the Preservation of Oral History, at which time Mrs. Katherine Halverson was the speaker.

Laramie County Chapter (Mr. Dubois). Fifty dollars was contributed toward a plaque which was placed on "Big Boy", a steam engine used by the Union Pacific and now a permanent

exhibit in Holliday Park. At one meeting Mrs. H. Paul Hallowell showed a collection of photographs made by her father, the late J. E. Stimson. He was a prominent early photographer of Cheyenne. Another member, Virginia Trenholm, presented Mr. and Mrs. Willie Dewey and their children in an authentic Arapaho dance.

Lincoln County Chapter (Mrs. W. J. Cranor). An annual chuck wagon dinner was held in early June. Also in that month the state president and secretary visited the Chapter for luncheon at Mrs. Norma Dwyer's home near LaBarge. Senior citizens who helped settle Lincoln County were honored by the Chapter. The primary interest this year was the study of pioneer businesses. When completed the information will be compiled in booklet form and preserved for local history.

Natrona County Chapter (Miss Kathleen Henry). The Chapter has joined with other organizations to petition the county commissioners to rename a new bridge east of Casper with its original name, Mystery Bridge. The Society has gone on record as supporting a project by the ASCS which will entail lining irrigation ditches near the Poison Spider Road. This will enhance the area near parts of the Oregon Trail and the Red Buttes cemetery.

Niobrara County Chapter (Mrs. Archie Huey). Over 4000 people visited the Lusk Museum in the last three months. A stair glide has been installed to the second floor, a fossil room has been started in the basement and a slab fence is being built to enclose the grounds back of the museum. The oldest building in Lusk has been moved to the back of the museum. It was originally known as the "Old Iron Clad Store" from the mining town of Silver Cliff. A well-organized annual meeting was planned by the members of the Niobrara Society.

Park County Chapter (Mr. Wibel). The Park County Chapter and the city of Cody have been willed \$1500 from the estate of Edgar D. (Kid) Wilson for the erection of a stone monument with a bronze plaque commemorating the pioneer stage drivers of Wyoming and the pioneers of Park County. Three summer treks were enjoyed. Jerry Wight presented a fine program on the Nez Perce flight. Wilford Hanson gave an interesting program on the Dead Indian Site.

Platte County Chapter (Mrs. Patricia Erickson). Throughout the year the Chapter, in conjunction with the Cow-Belles, has met the third Monday every month to work on their oral history project. Cassette tape recorders are used and two copies of cassettes and manuscripts are being made. One copy will circulate, the other will be in a non-circulating permanent file at the Platte County Library. About 50 tapes and manuscripts have been collected. A very successful antique show was also held.

Sheridan County Chapter (Mrs. Joe Laughton). This has been an exciting year for the 72 members working at the Trail End Historic Center. In addition to member volunteers there were 25 young people, ages ten through 18, who also helped regularly. Through a grant from the Wyoming Interim Committee on the Humanities Robert Murray, of Western Interpretive Services, has been hired to formulate the master plan for the Center. With a grant through the Wyoming Recreation Commission and from the federal funds for the Preservation of Historic Homes, much work has been done to stabilize and preserve the home, the carriage house, the sheds and the corral. In addition, regular monthly meetings were held with interesting programs.

Sweetwater County Chapter (Mrs. Seneshale). The Sweetwater County Chapter was privileged to host the 1971 annual meeting and it was a gratifying experience. They joined the Lincoln County Chapter on their picnic below Fontenelle Dam and thoroughly enjoyed their company and the barbecued beef. A trip to Parson's Cabin in Brown's Park with a Utah group was most interesting.

Teton County Chapter (Mr. Brazelton). The Chapter, as usual, made a substantial profit at its annual Boardwalk Sale in May. A basement room in the county library has been made available to the Society for a museum. Over 1100 items have been catalogued and put on display under the direction of Elizabeth Brownell, a trained archivist. The original contract for the sale of the town square in Jackson has recently been found. A \$25 share of stock and one dollar in cash was paid for it. Sixty-five people enjoyed a fine Thanksgiving-Christmas dinner on November 18 and gifts were exchanged.

Washakie County Chapter (Ray Pendergraft). Six members of the Washakie County Chapter took part in the state Trek on the fourth lap of the Oregon Trail from Devil's Gate to South Pass. The Chapter has devoted its efforts toward getting its members more closely oriented to local history. Programs were on John Colter, Spring Creek Raid, Nowood country and the mystery deaths in Little Canyon Creek. Several members have given talks at the National Girl Scout Center West during the summer.

Weston County Chapter (Mrs. Mary Capps). In November a sourdough pancake supper kicked off a membership drive. Admission was by membership only and 50 new members were added to the roll. In June, 25 members climbed Inyan Kara Mountain, which has been nominated for the National Register of Historic Places. They found George Custer's name carved in "the flinty album of the summit" just as it was reported in the official journals. The big summer trek was along most of the Wyoming portion of the Custer Expedition route of 1874. The trip was made in a bus

furnished by the school district. Local teachers were guests on the trek.

FOUNDATION FUND

At this time the meeting of the Wyoming State Historical Society was recessed and convened as the Wyoming Foundation Fund, Incorporated.

Mr. Jensen moved that Ed Bille and Miss Hemry be re-elected as Foundation Fund board members for 3-year terms (1972-1975). Mrs. Wilkins' and Dr. Larson's terms expire in 1973.

Mrs. Wilkins reported that \$2400 had been donated in memory of deceased members. \$5000 recently received from the Tonkin Foundation is specified to be used in an educational historic film. If anyone is interested in assisting in the project they should contact Mr. Williams or Mr. Hall at the State Office Building.

The Foundation Fund meeting was adjourned and the Wyoming State Historical Society was again convened.

Mr. Jensen reported that the State Highway Department will include the Bridger Trail on the official state highway map for 1973.

Mrs. Wilkins announced that a sign had been placed at the highway turn-off to Independence Rock. A letter has been received by Mrs. Wilkins recommending that the stage station seven miles south and east of Lander and also the stage station at Muddy Gap be restored.

Mr. Dubois asked that all members be sure and see the displays that have been put in the store windows downtown for the benefit of the Historical Society meeting.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:30 p.m.

SATURDAY LUNCHEON

One of the highlights of the two days was the style show, "Clothes from Former Years" at the luncheon at the Masonic Temple served by Guild and Circle members of the Congregational Church and the B&PW. One of the dresses dated back to 1870 and all were worn before 1920.

After the meeting was adjourned many people visited the Stagecoach Museum with its fine collection of old vehicles on the first floor and its unusual collection of pioneer household articles on the second floor. A stair glide has been installed for the convenience of the public.

SATURDAY BANQUET

The Awards Banquet was held in the Elks Lodge at 7:00 p.m. with George Clark, president of the Niobrara Chapter, acting as Master of Ceremonies. The tables were attractive with flowers from Congressman and Mrs. Teno Roncalio and from Mr. and

Mrs. Pfister. Lighting was furnished by old-fashioned kerosene lamps.

Mr. Dubois introduced the past presidents of the Society. They were: Mrs. Violet Hord, Mrs. Edness Kimball Wilkins, Mrs. Hattie Burnstad, Dr. T. A. Larson, Curtiss Root and Judge J. Reuel Armstrong.

C. A. Brimmer, Wyoming's attorney general, was the speaker of the evening. He praised the Society for preserving the memories of our great state and linked the past history of the vigilantes with the present concept of law and order.

The Resolutions Committee extended thanks to the Niobrara County Chapter for the many courtesies extended during the meeting.

The officers elected for 1972-1973 were announced as follows:

President: Henry Chadey, Rock Springs
First Vice President: Richard Dumbrell, Newcastle
Second Vice President: Henry Jensen, Casper
Secretary-Treasurer: Maurine Carley, Cheyenne

Mrs. Annabelle Hoblit was presented with a beautiful jade pin and earrings from the Niobrara County Chapter for her capable chairmanship of the Annual Meeting.

Historical awards were presented by Mrs. Hayden, chairman of the Awards Committee:

Richard Dumbrell, the L. C. Bishop Award, for his planning and successfully carrying through the Custer Trail Trek.

Fern Nelson, the Publications Award, for her series of articles on Jackson Hole old timers in *The Jackson Hole Guide*.

Elizabeth Thorpe, Cumulative Award, for her continuing work in Weston County history in many fields.

Ila Lewis of Lander, the Museums and Displays Award, for her life-long interest and active participation in preserving the history of Fremont County.

Russ Arnold of Newcastle, the Best History Teacher Award, for his inspiring teaching and state-wide participation in the teaching of history at Newcastle Junior High School.

Mabel E. Brown, the Fine Arts Award, for her pageant "A Peek at the Past", a history of northeast Wyoming's Black Hills Region.

A certificate to the Sheridan County Chapter for converting Trail End (the John B. Kendrick home) into a museum. (\$400 Grant, 1970)

A certificate to Weston County Chapter for bringing in a country school house and restoring it (\$400 Grant, 1971)

A certificate to Crook County Chapter for mannequins for the court scene in their museum in Sundance (\$200 Grant, 1970)

Mr. Dubois presented the gavel to Mr. Chadey who made a very brief acceptance speech. He then presented Mr. Dubois with the President's Appreciation Certificate.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 10

A complimentary breakfast was served in the Stagecoach Museum at 8:00 a.m. by the Niobrara County Chapter.

At 10:00 a.m. two tours left the Museum.

1. Eight cars went on a short tour to Hat Creek stage station led by Ed Cook and Bob Scott.

2. Thirty cars followed Mr. and Mrs. William Nuttall on the day-long tour to the Spanish Diggings where the trekkers had a picnic lunch. Soft drinks were donated by the Lusk Chamber of Commerce. In the afternoon, the group went on to the Fossil Beds near the Nuttall Ranch. Mrs. Mae Urbanek read a paper on the Spanish Diggings and Mrs. Nuttall explained the Fossil Beds.

MAURINE CARLEY
Secretary-Treasurer

Book Reviews

The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands. By D. S. Otis, Edited and Introduction by Francis Paul Prucha (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973). Index. 206 pp. \$6.95.

In 1887, the United States Congress passed the Dawes Act providing for the allotment of Indian lands in severalty. Its purpose was to break down tribal identification and habits, and make Christian farmers of the Indians. The act failed in its stated intentions, but in a single decade Indian lands were reduced from 150,000,000 to 75,000,000 acres. D. S. Otis' book is a valuable analysis of the Dawes Act and the unfortunate effects of its first 13 years.

Although it was written in the early 1930s, the book has not suffered severely from the 40 years which interrupted its publication. In early 1934, Congress was contemplating the Wheeler-Howard Bill which proposed to reverse the allotment-assimilation policy of the previous 65 years. The new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, proposed a policy which would encourage tribal organization and identity. D. S. Otis was assigned to write a history of allotment under the Dawes Act. His manuscript was printed in the transcript of the hearings before the House of Representatives Committee on Indian Affairs. Those hearings received very little circulation and Otis' work has gone unnoticed until now. Its availability is especially timely in light of the current interest in the government's Indian policy.

Otis begins his study with a brief discussion of allotment agitation before 1887. After evaluating the aims and motives of the allotment movement, the organizations which supported allotment, and Indian attitudes and responses to the new policy, Otis gets to the heart of his study—the failure of allotment. This failure, he says, is evidenced in the insufficient education given new Indian landowners, and the pernicious effects of the ill-advised leasing policy. Otis regards leasing as the single most damaging factor. It undermined the Dawes Act's noble motives. Instead of becoming independent farmers and citizens of the Republic, a practice was begun which extended well into the 20th century. Many Indians were permanently separated from their lands through fair means or foul.

In his concluding remarks, Otis suggests a fair-minded approach is necessary to properly evaluate the Dawes Act and the allotment of Indian lands. The humanitarian reformers must be given credit for their noble intentions, and the multitude of forces unleashed by America's westward expansion must be recognized. As in other

periods, Otis notes, men of all types—from the high-minded moralists to unscrupulous speculators—played a role.

Although this book provides heretofore unpublished information, it suffers from some serious shortcomings. Otis leaves many questions unanswered. The role of representatives from western states is suggested but not explored in depth. Indian attitudes are taken primarily from agents' reports—hardly an unbiased source! In fact, that is perhaps the book's greatest weakness. It relies too heavily upon published and unpublished government sources. It would have been enlightening to know how western newspapers reacted to the Dawes Act, or what, if anything, western congressmen were saying about the act in their private correspondence.

Francis Paul Prucha's brief introduction does not overcome these weaknesses. Prucha mentions recent scholarship, but he does not spend any time discussing the contributions authors such as H. E. Fritz and L. B. Priest have made to the questions raised by Otis. It would have also been instructive to learn more of the Otis-Collier association, and of Collier's purpose in assigning Otis to write a history of allotment. Despite these deficiencies, the book provides important information for anyone seeking to comprehend the government's policy toward its Indian wards.

*Wyoming State Archives and
Historical Department
Cheyenne*

GORDON OLSON

Past's Persisting. (Collected Poems). By Wilson Clough. (Laramie: University of Wyoming Publication, 1972). 83 pp. \$3.50.

Wilson Clough, professor emeritus of English and of American Studies at the University of Wyoming, has selected and collected in a slim paperback the best—and his favorites—among the poems he has written. This is an essential addition to any collector's library.

Quite aside from Dr. Clough's high status among western men of letters, his poetry about Wyoming is the best of the genre, informing with art and scholarship the pictures of nature which have inspired in others so much emotion-charged formless poesy. Pictures these poems are, too: beautifully selected and lighted photographs, some with figures; none is static. All of them make the Wyoming reader whisper, "I've been there! I've been there!"

His lens has caught for all time the abandoned mining camp, the snow storm, the old graveyard on a naked hill, the waters going their separate ways at the Continental Divide. It has portrayed the distress of the lost dude hunter and delineated the lesson which must be learned by all newcomers to Wyoming: the ele-

ments are impersonal, and in this country they force man to come to grips with that cool impersonality.

Dr. Clough's collection includes poems on other subjects, on war, for instance; his *Jubilate* I think would rank with the best of A. E. Housman's bitter-humane pieces on that subject. He has also written in foreign languages and done translations, and some of these are preserved in this book.

Wilson Clough came to teach at the University when he was 30 years old. Behind him, aside from an upstate-New York background, a tour of army duty and foreign study, was a meticulous, scholarly preparation in the language arts, what Prof. 'enry 'iggins called "the divine gift of articulate speech," (although HIS value, of course, was on phonetics.)

In Wyoming, the young Clough must have been often baffled and frustrated by the fresh young rural faces in his classroom, for it was probably rare for these students to understand the precise value of language. Twelve years in classrooms, in that day, had persuaded few of them that a string of words was anything but a useful, blunt tool; that a word could be a precision instrument or a thing of beauty was a brand new and highly suspect idea.

In all humility and humanity, the young teacher wrote in 1933:

All words that mouths may form have truth. The word
That gropes and falters short of accents sure
Confesses past dispute that life has stirred
Beneath the uncouth sign, the hint obscure

Beneath the uncouth sign, the hint obscure He was learning from his students in order to teach them. He recognized the validity of their outdoors-oriented childhoods, understood that know-how was often more important than words. And he loved them enough to spend a lifetime teaching them the power and grace of language in literature, and in the shaping of our history. His vocation has become a rich part of Wyoming's inheritance, along with the poems he wrote to describe and define what touched and moved him.

Wilson Clough is still a vigorous and active man of many parts and interests. Despite sentimental trips back to his eastern home country, he has become "of Wyoming". If these poems, collected, were not proof, a single poem would serve, the tender *Little Grandson*, a memory of an afternoon spent in the Wyoming mountains with a beloved child, the written memory tendered as a gift. This is what he wanted to say to the child, and thanks to his art, he could say it!

Riverton

MARGARET PECK

Pale Ink: Two Ancient Records of Chinese Explorations in America. By Henriette Mertz. (Chicago: The Swallow Press, Inc., 1973). Index. Illus. 175 pp. \$6.95.

When President Nixon went to mainland China last year, the world's headlines failed to note that he was merely returning an honor paid to the people of the American continent some 4000 years ago.

Just as Mr. Nixon visited the ancient capital, the Great Wall, the Forbidden City, so did Yu, a future emperor of China, tour many of our continent's wonders, including 10 southwestern states, when he journeyed here sometime around 2250 B.C.

The story of Yu and of other ancient Chinese visitors is brought to light again in *Pale Ink*. Miss Mertz argues that not only did visits by Chinese to North and Central America occur hundreds of years ago, but that written proof of such ancient contact between Asia and America still exists in Chinese archives.

Her theories rest on the world's oldest known work of geography, the "Shan Hai Kang" ("The Classic of Mountains and Seas,") written by Yu 4000 years ago, and on the story of "Fu Sang," the odyssey of a Buddhist monk, which dates from the 5th century A.D.

These two eyewitness accounts survived book burnings, wars, and several condensations only to be dismissed as pure fable and myth by succeeding generations.

But, Mertz wondered, if the books were no more than Chinese whimsey, why did they contain such meticulous notes on mileage and direction traveled, flora, fauna, human groups encountered, and the extraordinary geography of the strange and beautiful foreign land? She decided to take the ancient writers at their word and to faithfully follow the hard geographical clues they provided.

With Yu's "Classic of Mountains and Seas," Mertz started out in China, crossed "the Great Eastern Sea" on her map as directed, pinpointed the place of arrival, and then continued to follow what turned out to be an incredibly accurate road map extending mile for mile down the torturous back of the Continental Divide, from Winnipeg in Canada to Mazatlan in Mexico.

The Classic described a veritable 2000-mile Cook's Tour from Western Canada to Mexico that also took in Washington, Oregon, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Montana, California, Nevada, Arizona, and Texas.

According to Henriette Mertz, the high point of such a journey was a visit to what Yu's Classic calls "the Grand Luminous Canyon." To an ancient Chinese traveling east, the spot seemed no other than "the place where the sun was born," and Mertz points out that Chinese poetry and literature fairly bulge with cantos of glowing reminiscence. Apparently, she concludes, hundreds of Chinese made their way to this place—our own Grand Canyon.

Henriette Mertz, a native Chicagoan, brings many years of experience as a lawyer to the study of unsolved cultural mysteries. Her researches have taken her countless times to the interiors of Mexico and South America.

Lost America, From the Mississippi to the Pacific. Ed. by Constance M. Greiff; foreword by James Biddle. (Princeton: The Pyne Press, 1972). Index. Illus. 243 pp. \$17.95.

Lost America contains a general introduction, keyed with illustrations, to the development (or lack thereof) of the preservation movement in the Western United States. Progress continues to take its indiscriminate toll of resort palaces, private homes designed for leisure and graceful living, office buildings which provided a human, spacious scale for mundane commercial enterprise, churches and synagogues. This book is a clear call to stop, look and listen before every architectural ornament and edifice from the past which enriches our daily life with beauty and meaning is dynamited to speed the increasing flow of human and commercial traffic. The sod huts, cliff dwellings, plantation houses, banks, churches, court-houses and ghost towns gathered in the book endure only in pictures. San Francisco, St. Louis, Austin, Santa Fe, Denver, Minneapolis, Portland, Cheyenne and Seattle are all represented in the pages of *Lost America*. An epilogue chronicling current and key preservation battles across the country is a unique summation of a highly critical national situation.

The Yogi of Cockroach Court. By Frank Waters. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972). 275 pp. (Paperback, Bison Book).

Contributors

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WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

The Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department has as its function the collection and preservation of the record of the people of Wyoming. It maintains the state's historical library and research center, the Wyoming State Museum and branch museums, the Wyoming State Art Gallery and the State archives.

The aid of the citizens of Wyoming is solicited in the carrying out of its function. The Department is anxious to secure and preserve records and materials now in private hands where they cannot be long preserved. Such records and materials include:

Biographical materials of pioneers: diaries, letters, account books, autobiographical accounts.

Business records of industries of the state: livestock, mining, agriculture, railroads, manufacturers, merchants, small business establishments and of professional men such as bankers, lawyers, physicians, dentists, ministers and educators.

Private records of individual citizens, such as correspondence, manuscript materials and scrapbooks.

Records of organizations active in the religious, educational, social, economic and political life of the state, including their publications such as yearbooks and reports.

Manuscript and printed articles on towns, counties and any significant topic dealing with the history of the state.

Early newspapers, maps, pictures, pamphlets and books on western subjects.

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Original art works of a western flavor including, but not limited to, etchings, paintings in all media, sculpture and other art forms.

UGHT IN A TRAP

Invading Stockmen Regularly Besieged
a Ranch House in Johnson County.

THE COILS SLOWLY BUT SURELY ABOUT THE DEVOTED BAND

reds of Men Flocking to the Scene and
Consequences May be Disastrous.

Governor Asks the President for the Fort McKinney
Cops—Three Rustlers Shot—One of the Invaders
Dying at the Hospital.

Definite Details.

Wyo., April 12.—Reliable
the north was received here
C. B. Moore and E. V. Sam-
meridan came in. They left
noon Saturday. At that time
no intimation of trouble and
known of the starting north
dition into Johnson county.

R. Smith's ranch, twenty
Buffalo, they met Jack Flagg,
who had been halted at the
and pursued by part of the out-
ry. The KC ranch is on the
order, twelve miles west of
It was once the Peters & Al-
but lately has been run by a
Nolan and has been the re-
az or eight of the rustlers.
es fifteen miles further west.
ay he was coming to Smith's
ranch river crossing to join the
unity delegation to the Douglas
He was mounted and on-
his son was driving and had
se and gun in the wagon.

They reached the KC ranch
several hundred yards ahead of
He saw several men standing
baro evidently watching the
of them who called on him to
his hands. He thought it was
he boys playing a joke, but one
fired at him.

ed and rode back to the wagon
not his gun and helped his boy
the horses loose and helped
at. By this time about twenty
from the creek to his left. He
y rode north into the hills.
y followed for half a mile by
the fired continuously and Flagg said
shots were fired at him
hem at 200 yards' range. At
Flagg found Robt. Foote, Thad
D. C. Brown, the Johnson county
who returned with him to Buf-

aimed to know the two men
batted him and swears he will
o of the party was evidently to

McCallough, proprietor of the stage line,
had started to Gillette but received word
to return to Buffalo. A courier going in
hot haste reached a small camp of rustlers
on Powder river yesterday, but what news
he bears is not known.

Twenty miles of Buffalo, 3 p. m.—
Couriers are scouring the country in
search of men to help fight. Don't know
which side.

Fifteen miles from Buffalo, 4 p. m.—
The driver of the down coach says sixty-
one cattlemen are corralled at the T. A.
ranch ten miles from Buffalo. Nate
Champion and Nick Ray, both alleged
rustlers, are killed. Four men supposed
to be stockmen are wounded. Ray was
burned. Joe Elliott and Canton are with
the stockmen. Soldiers are to go out
this evening. Firing has been going on
nearly all day between the rustlers and
white caps. A man who tried to repair
the telegraph lines was promptly shot at.

The Seat of War.

Special Dispatch to The Leader.

BUFFALO, Wyo., April 12.—When the
men who pulled out of Cheyenne last
Tuesday evening on a special train with
everything in their possession from dynamite
to a newspaper reporter and nearly 300
morts as if to a grand picnic, they eventu-
ally did not count the cost. Now they are
in a position, where, before they
have eaten up all of their resources, they
will have ample time for reflection. The
party who left Cheyenne one week ago
got to Nate Champion's at 4 o'clock Sat-
urday morning, surrounded the house
and an almost continuous fire was kept up
till afternoon. Champion, Ray and prob-
ably another man were in the house. As
the fight progressed Champion from time
to time wrote in

HIS MEMORANDUM BOOK

An account of it which after he was
dead was taken with the regulators and
read aloud in the presence of Sam T.
Clover of the Chicago Herald.

Everything also failing the regulators
took a load of hay, backed it against the
house, thus sheltering themselves from

CHAMPION'S BULLET.

are, is a small fort built of hewed logs and
carto works which they have built
SINCE BEING CORRALLED.

It is probably to be used as a last resort
in case the rustlers succeed in burning the
house and stable. They have some rifle
pits and probably some underground pass-
ages. There are about forty-five of them
now. When I left Arapahoe Brown,
who owns a grist mill here and is leader
of the

CITIZENS AND RUSTLERS.

Said he had 175 men. We met twenty
or twenty-five on our way in, and they
are still coming and include able bodied
men, mere boys and gray haired old men.
Of the 175 men on the ground I should
say, judging from their appearance and
what I hear, that 125 were rustlers,
twenty-five more mechanics and work-
men who each own a piece of land. The
other twenty-five are rustlers, gamblers
and men from about town. Brown has
charge.

WHILE SHERIFF ANOUS

is recruiting officer. One of them is R.
P. Brown of Sheridan county, one is E.
U. Snider, the first settler of Fort Mc-
Kinney, whom I know as a perfect gen-
tleman and a good friend to the wood
choppers and workers about here at that
time. One is Hugh Delisalt, with whom
I worked in

'CHARLEY CLAY'S OUTRIP

in 1879. Hugh was an honest, energetic
young man, square as a dyer. I believe
he is the same today. Frank Howard,
the scout, was with the citizens and rust-
lers yesterday, but I am told was detained
today

AT FORT MCKINNEY

I said to a man I know, "Hello, are
you a rustler?" "No," was the rather
indignant answer, "but I am fighting for
my home and property."

Speaking of the rustlers, he said the
cattlemen taught these boys to steal.

CATTELMEN AND RUSTLERS

are camped in the Convention ranch a half
mile from the regulators, but they keep
them surrounded and during all the ter-
rible night the flashes of their guns could
be seen from the gullies and hills sur-
rounding the regulation camp.

All this happened on Saturday, but at
daylight fired a volley and one bullet
threw dirt in a citizen's face. They are
saying their ammunition. The citizens
are digging out their guns and they
never let a rustler get away.

"If we are whipped," said Brown,
"there will be none but cattlemen left, for
we will all be dead."

"If the regulators let us surrender to
them," I asked Brown, "will you
let them do so?"

"Yes," said he, "if the military will
agree to turn them over to the civil au-
thorities."

There are some young men in the
party, however, who say the white caps
shall all be killed. The rustlers and citi-
zens have captured three new Arp &
Hammood wagons, thirteen horses, 3,000
rounds of ammunition, dynamite, poison,
handcuffs and two men besides the three
teamsters. This does not include the
Chicago Herald reporter, who admits that he

OOT INTO BAD COMPANY

Union Fort McKinney. Location to

at the T. A. ranch and it is be-
will capture them all to
sheriff instructs the officers to
roads and arrest all suspicious
The three settlers killed
Champion, Nick Ray and Roy
The latter was burned in his h

In Cheyenne

The news of the true situa-
permute Cheyenne until 1
evening, although Gov. Barb
apprised of the true situation
day. Telegraphic communica-
established and news is begin-
in here very freely. The air
Buffalo is overcrowded and bi-
red hot all night. The gov-
advisers were up until a late
night receiving and sending
Orders have been received
ington to start out the troops
in a list of official telegrams
sent yesterday

BUFFALO, Wyo., April 12.
ber: An armed force of abo-
have invaded this county in
law, have committed two
burned one building and not
fied themselves on the T. A. ran-
miles south of Buffalo. Our
a posse of men to go out to
was demanded that the
the posse and was ordered to
shoot from their positions.
Up to this hour he has be-
capture them and learn infor-
can be arrested without a
possession now. As every ex-
of this county and in the gar-
and all law-abiding citizens,
to aid in by taking the pri-
ity that the commanding
McKinney ordered to assi-
down this rebellion. The
here is great and the prayers
entertained by all loyal citi-
destitute of arms and am
assist the sheriff in this w-
pray you to give this your in-
tention. Yours with respect

C. J. Hog-
Acting Mayor of Buffalo and
of Board of County Comm-
J. F. Bro-
Cou

Telegram.

CHEYENNE, Wyo., April
C. J. Hogerson, Acting Ma-
C. J. Hogerson, Acting Ma-
Have directed stat-
most in restoring order and
upon president to direct U-
troops at Fort McKinney to
pressing insurrection and re-
Every possible precaution sh-
to prevent loss of life.

AMOS W. I-
Acting

BUFFALO, Wyo., April
Amos W. Harber, Governor
mander in Chief—From rep-
edly correct an armed body
have burned KC ranch and
Champion and Nick Ray
body, sixty strong, are now i-
the T. A. ranch, thirteen mil-
fals, surrounded by the sh-
posse of 100 men, who are
stockmen in check but can
them. Skirmishing is going
ally. Would cost 100 live
stockmen from their intrench-
ment C could do no more to

Annals
of Wyoming
July 1973

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Associate Editor

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The cover is a portion of page 1 of *The Cheyenne Daily Leader*, April 13, 1892, published during the Johnson County Invasion. Joe Elliott, whose story is published in this issue, was one of the participants in the invasion. The cover photograph was made by Pat Hall from microfilm of the *Leader* filed in the Historical Research and Publications Division of the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department.

Joe Elliott's Story

By

B. W. HOPE

Joe Elliott (1860-1946) was a stock detective for cattlemen's associations in Wyoming and South Dakota in the 1880s and 1890s. His name appears frequently in accounts of the range conflicts of those years. Particularly, histories and reminiscences of the period name him as one of those involved in the hanging of Tom Waggoner, as a member of the party that attacked Nate Champion in the fall of 1891, and as one of the "invaders" in the Johnson County War.

I met Joe Elliott in Boise, Idaho, in the early 1940s. I found him to be an old gentleman who might have been a retired military man. He was intelligent, well read, a respecter of law and authority, somewhat reserved and severe in manner, but, as we became better acquainted, willing enough to talk about his past life.

In conversations that extended through several months, he told me of his experiences in the early days in Nebraska, South Dakota, Wyoming and Montana. As my notes on our conversations began to grow into a sequential account of his past life, we decided that after the war we would take a trip into Wyoming and South Dakota, in expectation that visting old scenes would bring forth new and more complete memories of his experiences. But before this expedition into the past could be undertaken Joe Elliott died, April 17, 1946.

The following record of Joe Elliott's reminiscences was set down as nearly as possible in his own words. Much of it is exactly as he told it, and all of it is as faithful as possible to Mr. Elliott's recollections, his opinions, and his manner of speech. Absolute accuracy cannot be guaranteed, of course, due both to the possible deficiencies in my note taking and to the limitations of Mr. Elliott's memory. Particularly, it should be pointed out that he never saw my manuscript (since it was considered to be preliminary to the more complete account that I intended to draft after our trip to Wyoming) and he thus had no opportunity to correct or clarify the record. However, I regularly checked and rechecked with him concerning matters on which my notes were incomplete or uncertain, and I believe that the possibility of serious inaccuracy is minimal.

Here, then, is Joe Elliott's story, as he told it to me.

I was born May 2, 1860, in the township of Leroy, Dodge County, Wisconsin. My father, Charles Amiah Elliott, was from New York State, originally. He served in the Mexican War, under Taylor's command, I believe, but didn't get into any of the fighting. For some reason they were in camp for a long time around New Orleans. They left the camp, finally, and went across the Gulf to Vera Cruz, but Scott had already taken the city of Mexico, and the war was over. After they returned, to that same camp, my father contracted what they called at that time "chronic diarrhea." He was discharged from the army on that account, and he was rejected for that reason when he volunteered for service in the Civil War.

Mary Elizabeth Davis was my mother's name; the Davis family lived at Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. I had six brothers and sisters, Charles Earl, born in 1851, Elvin Rogers, Ida May, myself, Florence, Jack, William Marian.

The youngest boy was born in Nebraska; all the rest of us in Wisconsin.

About '69 or '70 we left Wisconsin and went to Owatonna, Minnesota; drove over there in the dead of winter, with a team and bob sled. I remember we crossed the Mississippi at La Crosse, on the ice, and hit the railroad at Rochester. The family was put on the train for Owatonna there, while my father came on with the team and sled.

We bought a piece of land there. But it was a timbered country, and there was a lot of grubbing to do—hard work. We kept getting reports from the open plains country. My two older brothers went out there to look the country over, and they made a favorable report. So, after a couple of years in Minnesota, we sold out, got two yoke of oxen, and traveled overland.

We visited my father's brother, David Horatio Elliott, at Elk Point, and then went on and crossed the Missouri at Yankton. But one night while we were camped somewhere about the mouth of the Running Water, the Indians had one of their jubilees there, whooping it up in the night, dancing and yelling. My folks had heard that back in Wisconsin; my mother especially got nervous about it. They hitched up in the night and backtrailed. It seems to me that I can remember that—the drums beating and the wagons going in the night.

In Cedar County, Nebraska, we were told of a place on Bow Creek where a man had built a house and then gone off and left it. We went right down there and took up a homestead. I helped survey our land—I have those numbers in my head now: the $S\frac{1}{2}$ of the $SE\frac{1}{4}$ and the $S\frac{1}{2}$ of the $SW\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 21, Township 31, Range 2 East, on the 6th principal meridian.

I helped break prairie that summer. I drove the oxen and my father held the plow. My older brothers were away working for wages; one of their jobs, I remember, was salvaging goods from a sunken steamboat, the Ida B. Reese II. And I remember they went to California for a while.

The next year we had a popping good crop, 30 bushels to the acre. We got along bully for a year or so after that, and then the next year the grasshoppers cleaned the country as bare as a road.

The speculators got the choice of the land there, and the settlers got what was left, and sometimes got the best land too. The speculators generally got the timbered sections, and paid taxes on it that built school houses for the settlers' children. And when the speculator came to get his timber he found a lot of stumps.

In '76 my two older brothers and I started freighting to the Black Hills. We had some oxen, and bought more, and rigged up

two wagons. My brothers had freighted the year before, from Fort Randall to the agency on White River—Spot's camp, they called it, meaning the chief, Spotted Tail.

We didn't go through to the Hills, that first trip—got scared out by the Indians. We kept meeting parties of them, coming back from the Custer battle, I suppose. We got as far as Pinos Springs, half-way between Pierre and the mines, and turned back.

On the way back, coming along the Running Water, we heard a voice, "Hello boys! Hello boys!" It turned out to be an old hunter named George Owens. Everybody knew him by his moustache—one side of it was white, the other side brown. He had studied to be a priest, but couldn't stay away from the open country.

At this time, he was hunting elk. I met him years later, around about '83, killing buffalo out of Terry, Montana. I've been told that after the buffalo were gone, he got in among the cowpunchers and the rustlers, and was one of those hung in Granville Stuart's raids.

In '77 we freighted through to the Hills. Going into Rapid City, I remember, we found four men hanging on a tree out on a hill from town. They'd stolen some stage company horses. A couple of us went up—there they were, four on one limb. Some men were there burying them—they'd let them down on a canvas, then flop them over into a hole. Then they threw the canvas in on top of them. "Let them all go to hell together," one of the burying party said.

My father was killed that year, when his team ran away with a wagon. I came back home and stayed with my mother for a while.

My brothers left that country some time after that, and settled out on the Little Lewis River in Washington, and were there the last I knew of them. One of the family—I believe it was my oldest brother's boy—disappeared there, and was believed to have drowned. I last heard from them at the time of our Johnson County fight, while we were being held at Fort D. A. Russell. My brother heard of a Joe Elliott in that scrap, and wrote me, saying he had a brother in that country by that name, and saying something like this, "If you are he, I'm glad you're on the side you are." I answered that letter, and I don't think I heard from them again.

Also while I was at Fort Russell, my sister Ida May visited me. She was married and living somewhere near Sacramento, California. Later, while I was working for the South Dakota Stock-grower's Association, my other sister Florence visited me for several days in Sturgis. I don't remember that she was ever married.

At the time of that Johnson County scrap, I believe my brother Jack was around Buffalo someplace. The last I knew of my youngest brother, William Marian, I think he was working at Fort Meade, at Sturgis.

After my brothers left, I went to work for other outfits, whacking bulls along the Pierre road. For the most part, I worked for John Doherty, one of the best men I ever knew.

In the winter we'd go out to some place we had picked, put up a tent and hunt, and tan deerskins, while the oxen wintered out. We generally wintered on the Cheyenne or its tributaries, or over on Bad River. Doherty had ranches in that country.

In all the time I was in the Black Hills, I never panned a pan of dirt or stuck a pick in gravel. There was plenty of other work—making shingles, getting out wood, hauling hay for ore haulers and hacks.

Calamity Jane I knew, of course—everybody did. There's lots of books written about her, and everyone I've seen is false from beginning to end.

John Kinselmann was a character who was a character. I stayed with him one night, and all John said in the time I was there was, to a fellow with him, "Our colt is a better colt than so-and-so's." One man was with him for 35 days on a wagon trip and never heard him speak. Honest John was a money-maker. He had the biggest wagon and the longest whiplash of any man in the country. One time he walked off and left his camp and freight outfit—cattle, wagons, and all, everything he had—and never went back to it. In later years I used to meet him; he tended bar in Wittenbaugh's, in Sturgis.

Along about '79 or thereabouts, Fred Evans, a forwarding agent at Pierre, got the freighters to agree to a price of \$1.50 a hundred for freight into the Hills. After he'd got all the business from the Northwestern Stage and Transportation Company, he refused to pay the \$1.50 rate.

So the freighters struck, got together into a freighters union—Bull Union, they called it—and refused to haul for him. He got mule teams to move the freight, but after they'd get out on the road a day or two the burrs on their wagons would get lost, and they'd be bogged down. I helped steal some of those burrs off those wagons. It came to court; the freighters hired Colonel Parker from Deadwood and won out, finally.

In '81 the railroad came into Belle Fourche from Chadron, and it was Molly-bar-the-door for the freighters. John Doherty, the Porter brothers, and some others were considering going into the cow business, and they sent me on west to scout around for a good range to locate on.

I've often thought of the little things that change a man's whole life. At a fork in the road a mile or two west of Spearfish I drove my pack horse ahead of me and let him decide whether I went to Wyoming or Montana. He took the left-hand fork, and I went to Wyoming.

Down near the present town of Moorcroft, below the 101, at a horse ranch owned by Stocks Miller, I struck a man named O. F.

Bacon, and hired out to him. Bacon was manager for Marvill, Horsey, and Co., of Laurel, Delaware. They had turned loose over on the head of Black Thunder in '80.

My first job for Bacon was cutting and hauling poles for a branding corral. Bacon came up and helped me carry them out to where we could get at them with a team.

Bacon didn't run a wagon on the roundup that year, and I don't think I rode on the roundup. But I was sent out to find the roundup by Bartlett Richards. He sent me with some letters to take to Bacon. I was several days trailing the roundup—caught them near Antelope Springs. Bacon was with Joe Hazen's wagon. Joe Hazen was later elected sheriff of Converse County, and was killed by George Curry after the hold-up of the U. P. at Rock Creek.

After the roundup, Bacon threw in his cattle with the T7 herd, and Bacon and I trailed with them down to Little Thunder. From there I took our stock on to the ranch. That was the last I saw of Bacon in that country. The letters I'd brought him was some important business with the company—some misunderstanding, and he lit right out for the east. Years later, in Boise, I heard of a prominent sheepman named O. F. Bacon (O. Frank Bacon, he used to sign his checks, and "Oooo Frank Bacon," the cowpunchers on the roundup would yell), and I looked him up, and found it was the same man.

So that summer of '82 Charley Andrews, Dave Bickle and I ran the outfit on our own, until the company sent out I. J. Morgan to take Bacon's place.

Morgan—we called him Big-foot—was green but willing. At first he was lost all the time. We always had a man or two out looking for Morgan. But in time he turned out to be a crack cowman, and one of the best ropers I ever saw. He was always practicing, and after he learned how the rest of us would just stand back and watch when Morgan took down his rope.

As I recall, Morgan got Alec Black as range foreman—a good cowman, too. When he quit he went up around Malta, Montana, and I was range foreman after that.

Morgan was manager, but on the range he worked under me as a hand, took orders from me in the daily work. He kept the books and paid the wages; I did the hiring and firing.

Winters there, for the most part, we just laid around, ate and slept, and looked after our saddle horses. We'd go out every week or so and see where they were. We'd go into Sundance, of course, to the saloons—about all there was for a cowpuncher to do. At the ranch, we used to sit out and watch for a rider to come along, bringing news or mail. Life got pretty monotonous; we were always glad to see anyone.

After a year or two as range foreman for the Six Half Circle I was appointed foreman of the general roundup. The Wyoming

Stockman's Association appointed a commissioner for each roundup district in the state, as I remember it, and he appointed the roundup foreman for that district. I believe that was the way I got my job.

It was the roundup foreman's job to scatter his men out so as to cover the country, and to select a point to which each day's drive would be made. The drives from different localities would be held back, and worked separately. Each outfit would work rotation around the different herds, so that they were all being worked at once.

The 101—the Standard Cattle Company—alone branded 20,000 calves there every year for a number of years. I've had as high as 300 men on one roundup, and we rounded up as many as 12,000 head in one day. That was below the head of the Belle Fourche, up near Pumpkin Buttes. That was the biggest roundup I ever saw.

I've seen the 101 lose as many as a thousand calves in one day. There's only one way to drive cows and calves—get behind them and let them go. If you start crowding them they'll split—the cows get separated from the calves, and then they start milling back to look for them. Windelling, on this day, started handling too many cattle with too few men. He had 10,000 cows and calves, working short handed, and when he tried to move them, away they'd go. You'd find a dead calf behind every sagebrush, after that drive.

At first we made our beef drives to Long Pine, way down below Chadron, then to Chadron, and then, after about '85, I believe, to Smithwick.

Right there at Smithwick I performed my best feat as a cow-puncher. We often had stampedes while crossing railroad tracks with cattle. A hoof would strike a rail, the herd would throw up their heads, and be gone. We used to cover the rails with sand to try to prevent that. At this time I speak of, our beef herd stampeded there at Smithwick while we were crossing the tracks, and I tied down three steers in half a mile.

I was just a pretty good roper—not a show to some men I know of. That long-legged Morgan had us all beat after he finally learned how.

My roping was handicapped somewhat by an injury I received as a boy. Back on the homestead in Nebraska one day I was carrying a beetle—a wooden sledge—when I slipped and fell. The beetle came down on my hand, breaking the third finger on my right hand. I have never been able since to close my right hand into a fist. As I say, it has handicapped my roping a little, and slowed my pistol shooting too.

A couple of chance circumstances helped to give me a reputation as a pistol shot, though. It was the job of the roundup foreman to get rid of all the big-jaws that showed up. Once on a roundup I ran a big-jaw steer out of the herd, and killed him with a snap

pistol shot. Another time a dog came by chasing a rabbit, off quite a distance, and I pulled my gun and shot that rabbit. I could have fired all day and not hit that rabbit again. Both times in a crowd, just where it would do me the most good. With a rifle, I didn't care whether I had a reputation or not; I was good enough to get along without one.

A big problem on the roundup, of course, was the disposal of the mavericks—unbranded stock that wasn't running with its mother, so that it could be claimed on that basis. Originally, we followed what was called the rule of accustomed range: the maverick was put in the brand of the man who claimed the range where it was found. That worked fine as long as it worked at all. But there came to be plenty of room for contention there, with several men perhaps able to claim the range where the maverick was picked up. So the practice was adopted of selling all mavericks to the highest bidder, the proceeds going to the Association to take care of roundup expenses. The mavericks were bid for each day in advance, and it was my job as roundup foreman to see to it that they were branded with the brand of the highest bidder.

The rustlers could deal me a lot of misery, by cutting out the mavericks and hiding them from me. The punchers wouldn't help me—they weren't paid 40 a month to fight thieves. I didn't blame them.

Down at Pumpkin Buttes, one time, we were rounding up cattle. Some fellows cut out some cattle and put them in another bunch. I put the steel to my horse and put them back where they belonged. They cut them out again, and I put them back again. Two of the outfit got off their horses with their Winchesters in their hands while the others were cutting them back and said, "If you want those cattle, cut them out again." "Oh," I said, "I think I made a mistake on the brands."

Do you think a man would take those kind of things and then not want to get back at the men that did them? It's human nature to want to get back.

After the hard winter of '86-'87, when so many cattle died, the PLR and Six Half Circle were turned over to Billy Ricketts to run with the Half Circle L outfit, and I was out of a job.

I'm not clear on my moves for the next year or so. I jumped around so much at that time that I'm not sure of dates.

I drove one or two herds for the 101. They were driving up onto Beaver Creek in Montana. One, I think, I drove part way and turned over to Doc Long, who was driving a herd ahead of me, and I went back after another bunch.

I took a crew and went over and rounded up Uncle Whit's (E. W. Whitcomb's) horses. He wanted me to stay with him, on the expectation that he and his foreman would part company, and that I would take over. But I wouldn't do it. I told him, "If

you're going to fire George now, I'll go to work." But I didn't want the job otherwise.

Jack Rogers was sheriff of Crook county. He told me that if I wanted to, to come in and work for him as deputy sheriff. I didn't. I think I went up and got one man, and brought him back to Sundance.

It was at about this time that I went to work for the Association as a stock detective. They put me at Merino (now Upton). That was my headquarters as long as I worked for the Wyoming Association.

I started a graveyard there at Merino. A gambler came in there, and got awful sick. I was going to Newcastle—I think I was going to see the authorities to get them to do something for him, but when I got there I got word that he was dead. I went back, picked out a place and buried him. Then one morning I found a fellow we called Jimmy the Butcher lying in the weeds near my place, dead. I went out and buried him. I've often wondered if that graveyard was kept up.

When the railroad built through there Merino was the winter headquarters for a good many of the men that worked on it. When they built on west the next spring they just went off and left it. I bought a house there for a few dollars—two or three, I think. A fellow asked me what I'd give him for his house—a good three or four room house. I said I didn't want it. He said, "Well, give me three dollars,"—or whatever it was—"and you can have it." I gave it to him, and never went in the house, so far as I remember.

That was the year they had the Indian Ghost Dance scare, that was ended when the troops wiped out Bigfoot's band at the Battle of Wounded Knee. The tenderfeet in Merino had a meeting to discuss what should be done. Me and some of the old-timers there sat around and joked them about it. They appointed me as a scout to go out and look around, and if I saw any Indians wearing war paint, I was to come back and tell them. I told them that if their scout ran across any Indians wearing war paint, he wouldn't come back.

One of the most talked-about and written-about happenings of those times in Wyoming was the hanging of Tom Waggoner, in June of 1891. So far as I know, it's never been officially discovered who killed Waggoner. But I know that for lots of people in that country there never was any mystery about who hung Waggoner—they know and always have known that *I* did it.

The book *Malcolm Campbell Sheriff*, by Robert David, puts the question this way: "If Waggoner was a cow thief, he was hanged by the stock men, and if he were honest, as all accounts show him to be, then he undoubtedly was killed by the rustlers. . . ."

On that basis, there's no question of who killed Waggoner, because he was one of the worst thieves I ever knew of.

Billy Lykins told me of one of Waggoner's stunts. A bunch of

emigrants came through that country with big fine horses, and Tom Waggoner slipped out and set them afoot—ran off their stock. When he thought they'd soaked long enough, he went down there, in a neighborly way—"Hello, folks." They told him their horses had been stolen. "Oh yes," he said, "it's these big cattlemen over here. I've got a little ranch here, and they're stealing from me, too." Well, since he lived in the country, and knew who had their horses, they made arrangements with him to look for them, and so that he could get them when he found them, they gave him a bill of sale for the missing stock. He brought them some cayuses to get them out of the hills. And they were no sooner out of there than he was shipping those horses out and selling them down around Lincoln, Nebraska.

He stole a fine team of horses from me there, and changed their brands, but they got away and came back to me. A couple of boys working for Waggoner told me all about it. I found Waggoner in a wholesale liquor store in Merino where he was sitting on a barrel. I told him about it—when he stole them, where he changed the brands, and so forth. He said, "What the hell are you going to do about it?" I took off my hat and slapped him across the face with it. I thought he'd get up, but he didn't. I threatened then to get him, and when he turned up missing everybody put two and two together and knew that I was the man who had done that job. "Elliott said he'd get him—and he's done it."

His brother John came to Ed Fitch in Merino one day, and asked if Tom had been arrested. Three men had come to his ranch a couple of weeks before, and took him away, and his wife assumed he had gone to jail. Tom always had lots of money standing out, and they didn't worry about him, until they found his horse out on the range. Fitch told John, "Let's go to Elliott. He'll know." Well, I knew the conditions—I had a good idea what must have happened. I said, "He's been hung." After he was found, people were sure I'd done it. "He said Tom'd been hung, didn't he?"

I said I'd go out with them and help look for him. We went out to Waggoner's ranch and started a search—they went down one gulch and I went down another, and I found him. I went back to the ranch; I didn't say anything about it—I wanted those fellows to find him, and they did—swung back and found him, and lit out for Merino.

Mrs. Waggoner told me the story. Three men had come there—a big man, a tall man, and a little man, she said—and had put Tom on a horse, tied his feet under the horse's belly, and took him away.

When the boys got back from town we went out and buried him. He'd been hanging 16 days in June, and it was impossible to move him, of course. The rope had stretched, I remember, till his feet were resting on the ground, with his knees bent. Some of the boys made a box, and we let him down in it and buried him right there.

Angus, the sheriff of Johnson County, knew I had nothing to do with that hanging. I had gone up on the Rosebud River after a prisoner. He was on a roundup there; Sheriff Willy and I rode out there and told him to come along—had no trouble with him at all—and took him down to Buffalo and put him in Angus's jail. I was on my way down to Newcastle with that prisoner when Waggoner was hung, and Angus knew it, and told me how he knew it.

A book called *The Longest Rope* [by D. F. Baber, as told by Bill Walker] tells about the Waggoner case; says that Shock Hall, "foreman of the 21 horse ranch," was one of the men. Shock Hall wasn't foreman of the 21, and he had nothing to do with that hanging, or anything like it. He wasn't that kind of a man at all.

The same book says, "The officials took over the horse herd and refused to settle with Tom's widow."

She was his widow, and Tom was "head of a family," as the book says—they had two children—because the authorities had come up there that spring and made Tom take her into town and marry her. They knew what was coming up.

I guess I was one of those "officials." Fred Coates was appointed administrator of the estate, and I went up to guard and help round up those horses. They were shipped out and sold, some of them, I think, way down in the south. I don't think she got much out of them, because horses weren't worth anything at that time, nor for years after, not until the Boer War.

Tom had over 1200 head of straight-branded horses; he never kept a horse on his range unless he could put his brand on it. Henry Keats had a bunch of fine horses, unbranded so that he could sell them in the eastern markets. All his colts turned up missing. You could spot every one of those colts in Waggoner's stock.

While I was up there looking after those horses a man who was managing Mr. Whitcomb's ranch—he was a fellow Mason, I'd met him in lodge meetings, but I don't remember his name—rode over and warned me to look out for myself; a bunch of men had come in there and inquired about me. Every day for some time there two men would come down and inquire about stray horses—different men each time.

One of the men who helped me bury Waggoner was Scrub Peeler (real name Dave Lee, I think). When Scrub came up from Texas, he got into a scrap over on the Little Missouri and killed a man. He was tried, and came clear, and then came over in that country. Later he ran a saloon in Gillette. Scrub was a good man. He didn't stand in with the rustlers, and I can prove it by something that happened.

I was coming up to Gillette from Merino and was within a couple of miles of Gillette when I met a man I knew coming across the country. He said, "Don't go into Gillette. They'll kill you.

Come on over to my place." But I went on in, and went to Scrub's saloon. As I went in four or five cowpunchers backed off in a corner, squatted up on some card tables. I could tell by the way they acted that they wanted to get me. I talked to Scrub, had a drink. He gave me a tip to come in again; he wanted to talk to me.

The next morning he reported to me what was going on.

I think it was on this same trip that I nearly got hung for something I didn't know anything about—something that never happened, in fact. Jack Garner was in town, and he wanted me to go home with him. Jack was a Texas puncher—came from the same part of Texas as Roosevelt's first vice president, and looked like him too. I had located him on his ranch, as I did several others. They'd ask me if I knew where there was a good location, and I'd take them out and show them a good place to locate. Well, Jack wanted me to go home with him. I wouldn't; I had some place else to go—went out to Charley Moyer's and trimmed some colts for him. (Charley was another one I'd located.) Jack rode on out, and I went out toward Charley's. The next morning a man came in from Jack's saying that Jack's horse had come in without him, with blood on the saddle.

Wilse Ridgeway told me later that if I'd come in there while that excitement was on they'd have hung me sure. Or if it had turned out that Jack had been shot, everybody would of known that I was the one that did it.

But they found Jack. He'd apparently fallen off his horse and wandered over to a couple of brothers who were homesteading there. They sobered him up and brought him home.

People thought at that time, or pretended to, that I was paid to dry-gulch men at so much a head.

I was headed back to Merino, after this incident, and had stopped and unsaddled and was waiting for night, when a couple of fellows rode over a hill in sight, then turned and rode back over the hill again. I saddled up and rode off north at a walk, leisurely. When I got over the ridge out of sight I circled back at a run to come in behind them. They were just walking back to their horses. They got on and shook their six-shooters at me. I let go three or four shots at them, not trying to hit them. They leaned over their horses and got out of there. I went on a ways and waited for night and then went on in.

I'd been over in Weston County, and was coming back, one time, riding across country, as I always did, and came up on a little hill and saw a man down in a bunch of cattle swinging a rope. I got off my horse, and sat down, watching him, and fell asleep. When I woke up they were right on top of me. It was Jack Garner and a young fellow named Otto Chenoweth, who had worked for us, I think. I went down to Jack's house with them. Jack swore by all the gods in the calendar that he'd quit. I talked to the boy alone, told him what was coming up, that he'd better quit while he

could. He seemed to be a fine young man, from an eastern family. He left the country, and went straight, so far as I know.

(Contrary to Joe Elliott's assumption, Chenoweth—according to A. J. Mokler's *History of Natrona County*—left the country for a time, but then returned, got into trouble with the law on various charges, and was finally committed to an Eastern sanitarium. B.W.H.)

We told Jack Garner, and others too, that if they wanted beef to come around to the ranch and get it—we preferred to have our beef killed all in one place. But Jack started rustling, and was caught; his pardner was killed and Jack sent to the pen.

(In 1891, some months after the Wagonner lynching, Joe Elliott was involved in another of the notorious incidents of the Wyoming range troubles. Nate Champion, an alleged rustler on the upper Powder River, was attacked at his cabin by three or four men, and Elliott was charged with being one of the attacking party. B.W.H.)

Sheriff Angus came down from Buffalo to get me. I met him on the train; we talked along as two friends would, but he never told me what was wanted until we got to Newcastle. I spent the night in jail at Newcastle, and we took the train the next morning to Gillette. There, he turned me over to Jim Swisher. I was told by several friends that the rustlers were getting out of town to beat the stage to Suggs, to hang me there that night. I didn't like the sound of that, so I told Jim Swisher that I wanted a Colts .45 and a box of cartridges. He got them for me, but made this specification: that I tell Angus, in his presence, that I had them. So when we got on the stage—a sleigh, it was—I told Angus that I was going to Buffalo with him, all right, but that a friend had slipped me a .45, and I wanted to know if he'd let me keep it. Angus looked at me a minute and said yes.

Going down Spotted Horse Creek, the sleigh upset. There was a woman passenger, and she was hurt a little, I believe. Angus's Winchester fell out into the snow, and he asked me to go back and find it. I did, went back and got it, and I carried the Winchester from there on. When we got down to Suggs I went into the eating house, carrying the Winchester, with the .45 sticking out of my pocket. The sheriff just went in there with me, and then went out again. When I got ready to go Angus wasn't there. I figured he was talking to those thieves who wanted to hang me, telling them they couldn't do it.

Years later, when I was a stock detective in South Dakota, I was eating at Scollard's hotel in Sturgis one night when a lady spoke to me. "You don't know me, do you?" I said no. "I'm Mrs. Sample, who was there at Suggs when you ate there that night." She asked me to come up to the parlor when I was through eating. I did, and she told me this: "When you was there that night the rustlers"—she named them—"had gone back to Tommy Gard-

ner's cabin, and the next morning, after you were gone, they came trailing back to our place. And to save their faces they said they couldn't find the trail." I believe that Angus talked them out of it, though maybe the fact that I had that .45 and the Winchester had something to do with it.

In Buffalo I gave a temporary bond of \$1000, I believe, and Angus turned me loose. But he told me, "Don't go down on the South side—stay up in the stage station." I did, for the most part, but it got monotonous. I was walking up and down in the street one day, and a couple of fellows started walking up and down with me. Angus came over and joined the procession, fell in with me, talking along, and nothing came of it.

Another time, one night, I says to McCullough, the owner of the stage line, "Let's go down and get some oysters." We went over to the restaurant, sat down at a table, and the rustlers began coming out of the street and out of the kitchen till the place was full of them. Johnny finished his oysters in a hurry, but I ate as calmly as I could—you've got to be calm in a situation like that. When I was through I went up to the counter and paid, Johnny got the door open, and I turned and stepped out. They piled out into the street but didn't follow us. They could see that .45 in my pocket.

A preliminary hearing was held to see if I should be held for trial. During the hearing Angus kept two or three deputies, and Danny Mitchell, the city marshall, between me and the rustlers. I sat ready to get up quick. I made up my mind that if shooting started I'd put my chair through the window and go out after it. They had me pretty nervous.

Nate Champion testified against me. I might have passed him on the streets of Buffalo; I suppose I did. But I never knew him until he stood up there and said, "That man thar. . . ." I was the man who stood out there and held the gun in two hands until he came into my sights and then run. Does that make sense? What the hell was I there for? If I was going to run why didn't I run? If I was waiting there to shoot him why didn't I shoot him? I must have been close.

The verdict was that I should be held for trial, but I had arranged for bond so that I could get out of Buffalo in the meantime. I learned, though, that Angus had another warrant for me in his pocket, ready to serve on me as soon as my bonds arrived. I told my friends that when my bond arrived to say nothing about it, but to let me know as soon as Angus went out of town.

When word was brought to me that Angus had left town, I walked down the street, into the drug store, and right out the back and down the alley down to the brush. Jim Craig was there with a big fine horse, a popping good horse, with a Winchester on the saddle and a pair of wire cutters. He told me, too, that things were shaping up, that something big was going to happen, and that I was to go to Cheyenne.

I rode out Southeast toward Powder River. It was high and looked bad, big chunks of ice floating in it. But I jumped my horse into it, and found that the river was running over the old ice; we crossed on top of that old ice, with no trouble at all. I felt good when we hit the bank, with Powder River behind us. I struck out across country, cutting fences when I had to. When I got to Gillette, I asked the deputy there if they'd sent any word from Buffalo to take me. He said, "It wouldn't do them any good if they had."

I took the train down to Hastings, and then to Cheyenne. Along the Platte, somewhere, I remember, I went into an eating house to eat, and there sat Fred Coates and his wife. There was a warrant out for Coates for that shooting, too. No one would ever have believed but what that meeting was planned.

That book (*The Longest Rope*) calls Fred Coates a "gunman." "He'd kill his mammy for fifty dollars." I'd like to read that to Fred. He didn't carry a gun, and never lifted his hand against those fellows. He was a friend of mine—that was enough for them, I guess.

At the time I was arrested, the papers around the country carried stories about it. The *Omaha World Herald*—I think that was my folks' paper—had headlines: "Elliott the Lyncher in Toils of the Law!" They were worried; wrote and asked what was going on, and if I needed any help.

In Cheyenne I learned for the first time the details of what Craig had hinted at—the attack on the rustlers that they call now the Johnson County Invasion. We had known for a long time that something like that would happen. It had to happen, if the cowmen there were going to be able to stay in business at all. But this was the first definite information I had on what was planned.

Now, I hear it said—that book says it—that the cattlemen wanted the settlers wiped out, killed off—just to get the grass. That's all nonsense. I know. And I think I had as thorough a knowledge of the row there as any man could have.

I located several men there on our range myself. Others did the same. Some of them were like Jack Garner, that we had to send to the pen for rustling. Others, like Charley Moyer, we got along fine with.

It was the rustling that had to be stopped. Not just settlers killing beef for their own use, but butchering it and selling it in wholesale lots in the towns and the railroad construction camps. Ninety per cent of the people in that country ate cattleman's beef. There was nothing we could do about it. We didn't try. The cheapest way was just to give it to them, and we did.

Angus told me himself that in Buffalo a butcher's meat, on the hooks, ready to retail, cost him seven cents. Yet men were selling beef there for three and four cents. That had to be stolen beef.

And what they couldn't sell they gave away. The people they gave it to were the rustler's friends—that's human nature.

The courts couldn't stop that rustling. Juries wouldn't convict. I knew a fellow there—well, I was in jail with him, and knew him on the range too—who was convicted of stealing a quarter or a half of a beef, to make the crime petty larceny, and save him from a penitentiary sentence. The implication was that the rest of that steer was still running around on the range.

The rustlers sent his wife in to get him to pump me. Instead of pumping me, he found out from his wife what the rustlers were doing, and told me about it.

Afterwards, when I was down in California, I heard of a man by the same name being convicted there for rustling.

Something had to be done, yes, but not what we did nor in the way we did it. Our affair was badly planned and badly managed all the way through. What we should have done, when we heard that the rustlers were planning this shot-gun roundup, was to have gone into Buffalo with a few good men, say 20 well armed men, and told the people there that we didn't want any trouble, but that we were going to see to it that the roundup was held according to custom and law. We'd have had Angus on our side, I'm sure of it. I believe that suggestion was made, and rejected. I didn't make it; I was just a hired man.

(Mike Shonsey, the other surviving member of the "invaders", has expressed substantially the same opinion to me. B.W.H.)

I wish I could do something to square the feeling against Red Angus. He did me favors, treated me square all the way. He could have been on our side as well as not. But they had Frank Canton boosting the other way.

The night before we left I walked the streets of Cheyenne with Mr. [E. W.] Whitcomb—Uncle Whit, we called him—and went out to his house, trying to persuade him not to go along. He listened to me, but he said, "Joe, I don't like it, but I've promised to go, and I'm going." I said, "There'll be no more said about it."

That book (*The Longest Rope*) talks about him "cussing like a sailor" and "yelling like a maniac." Mr. Whitcomb—calm, quiet old New Englander. I think he told me that he had never killed a deer or a game animal in his life, and he'd been in that country since Civil War days, or before. He told me of knowing Jim Bridger.

Tom Smith and Jeff Mynett were the only two of the Texans I had much to do with. Tom Smith was a bully good man. He was no "assassin."

Jeff Mynett, I believe, was the man who killed Champion. He was the best shot I ever knew. I think it was Tom Smith told me this: Jeff brought in a prisoner, and he was shot up a little. The judge said, "I'm getting tired of having these prisoners brought in all shot up. I don't think there's any need of it." When he was

through the prisoner spoke up and said, "Don't blame Jeff. If he'd shot a second slower I'd have killed him."

In recent years I've heard, from Mike Shonsey, I think, that Jeff Mynett was waylaid and killed by four horse thieves.

(Joe Elliott's story of the "Invasion" follows the account given in *Malcolm Campbell*, and adds little to it, except for the corrections given below. It may be useful to set down here a summarized account of the raid.

The cattlemen's party was made up of Texas men recruited by Tom Smith, and Wyoming ranchers, foremen, and stock detectives. The Texans and some of the Wyoming men boarded a special train in Denver, on April 6, 1892, were joined in Cheyenne by the rest of the party, including Joe Elliott, and went on to Casper where they saddled up and headed towards Buffalo early on the morning of the seventh. The next morning they arrived at Tisdale's ranch on Powder river and spent the day there. Mike Shonsey, foreman for the Western Union Beef Company, joined the party here, bringing word that several of the most prominent of Johnson county's rustlers were at Nate Champion's cabin on the KC ranch some 14 miles away. The invaders moved on this cabin that night, arriving some time after daybreak. They found, however, that Champion's rustler guests had departed, and that two itinerant trappers were camped here. Fortunately, the trappers walked out and were taken into temporary custody, and the attack on Champion and his pardner Nick Ray began with the killing of Ray. After Champion had held off the party through the day, his cabin was fired and the rustler killed as he made a break for safety. Meantime, passersby had escaped the invaders and were spreading the word that the cattlemen were starting in to kill off the population of Johnson county. The invading party started for Buffalo, but discovering the extent of the opposition gathering against them, made a stand at the TA ranch some dozen miles from the town, and were surrounded there by an army of rustlers, small ranchers, and townsmen under the leadership of Sheriff Red Angus. After three days of siege, with no fatalities on either side, the battle was ended by the arrival of troops from Fort McKinney in Buffalo, who took the invaders into custody. They were then taken to Fort Russell in Cheyenne, and placed on trial. Months of legal quibbling ended in January of 1893, when the cases were dismissed because of a double lack of Johnson county funds and Laramie county jurymen. B.W.H.)

The story of our fight in *Malcolm Campbell* is substantially correct, but it is inaccurate in a good many of its details.

First, it has me answering questions there on the train, giving information I didn't have.

The place where it tells about Ed Towse sleeping with me the first night, at Tisdale's: "Ed Towse slept on a bunkhouse floor beside Joe Elliott, who, because of his dangerous occupation was

ever on the alert. No less than five times did Towse awaken to find Joe sitting up, his six-shooter in his hand, peering off into the darkness of the house." Now, a man doesn't do that. If you hear something in the night, you don't sit up and make a target of yourself. Let the other fellow do the moving. I slept with Towse, all right, but they've made up the rest of it, or expressed it wrong.

Then, where it tells about Jack Flagg and his stepson riding down on us when we had Champion surrounded in the cabin at the KC ranch, the story is not right. It tells of Joe Elliott shouting down from the bluffs, "Shoot the scoundrel, he's Jack Flagg." I didn't know Jack Flagg. I could have shot that fellow in the eye—he rode right past me. But I didn't know who he was, and he was riding right down into the middle of those fellows—I just let him go on down to them. Naturally, I didn't say that, and I don't remember hearing anyone else up there yell out anything.

The book is wrong again when it says I was sent to guard the wagons. I don't remember who was sent, but I know I wasn't.

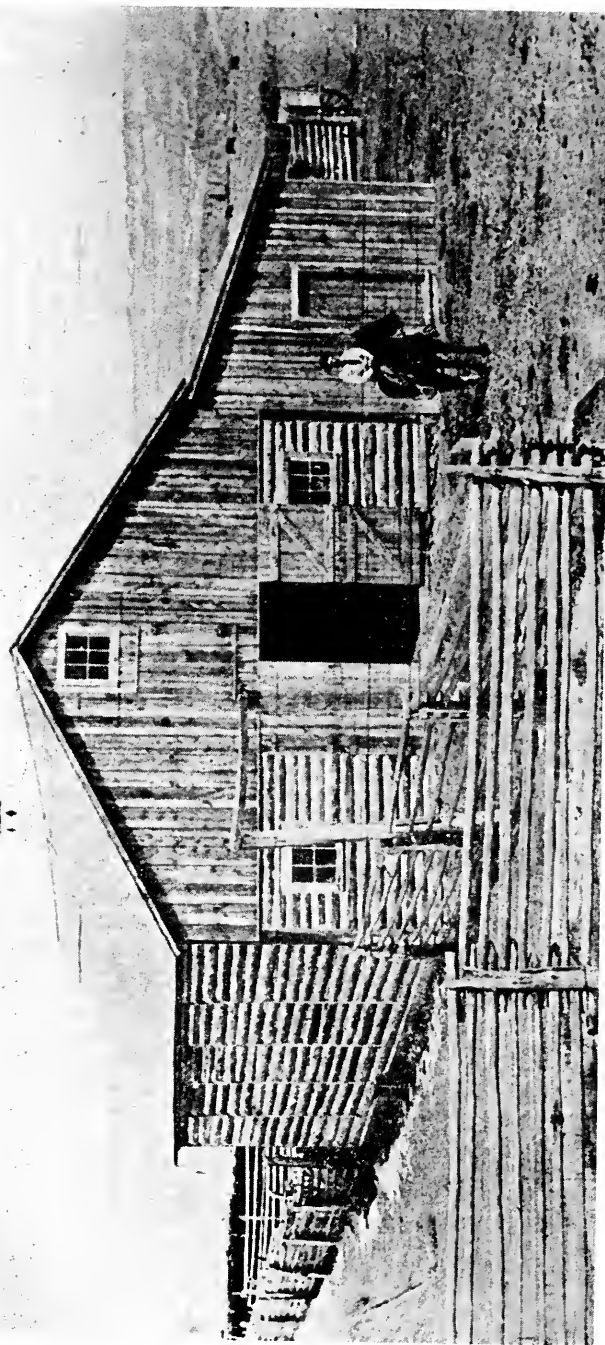
As to the building of those fortifications there, the Malcolm Campbell book gives the credit for that to Major [Frank] Wolcott. Frank Canton, in his book, says that he was responsible for the job. I never go out of my way to throw bouquets at myself, but I've got to say that it was me that forced the building of those fortifications there.

After we had ridden in there, I spoke to Canton, and told him what I thought should be done. He just lit his pipe and said nothing. Then I spoke to A. B. Clarke—I knew him well. He said, "We can't all run this thing, Joe." I said, "I know it." Then I went to Mr. Whitcomb, because I knew he'd listen to me and that they'd listen to him. I told him what had to be done there, and I said, "I don't propose to be caught here like a rat in a trap. If they don't build a rifle pit on that ridge there, Whit, I'm going to ride out of here, and some of the best men you've got here will go with me."

He went back and talked to the Major and the rest, and after a bit the Major gave orders and we went to work digging trenches and building barricades. And once we got started we did a good job of it, because we had everything there to work with.

And I think the story of the surrender there must be mostly imaginary. The book says that we had agreed to make a dash for it, try to get away or die fighting, and that we were waiting for the signal when the bugle sounded. I don't recall any such plan. When the troops arrived, the fellow we called the Texas Kid and I were up in the loft of the barn building us a barricade so that we could shoot down at some of those fellows in a trench. We could see them down to the waist, but we had just inch boards to protect us from their return fire. We were building a little breastworks.

Sometime before that, I saw a man out there, on horseback, sitting sideways to me. I took as good a bead on him as I could,



Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department

TA RANCH

and when I fired he flopped forward in the saddle and rode out of sight. I found later that the man was Howard Roles, Angus's deputy. He told me that I shot him through the coat, just back of the shoulders. That's one time that I made a bad shot that I was darn glad of it. Howard Roles was a good man.

Jack Tisdale, I remember, made a run for the rifle pit there once, with bullets zip-zip-zipping around him, and he fell. I thought he was shot. Then he jumped up and started chasing his hat.

Right after all this was over, Jack Tisdale got married, and sometime later became interested in Alaskan mining. He was in New York on business when he disappeared, and his body was found in East River. I read this in the papers in California.

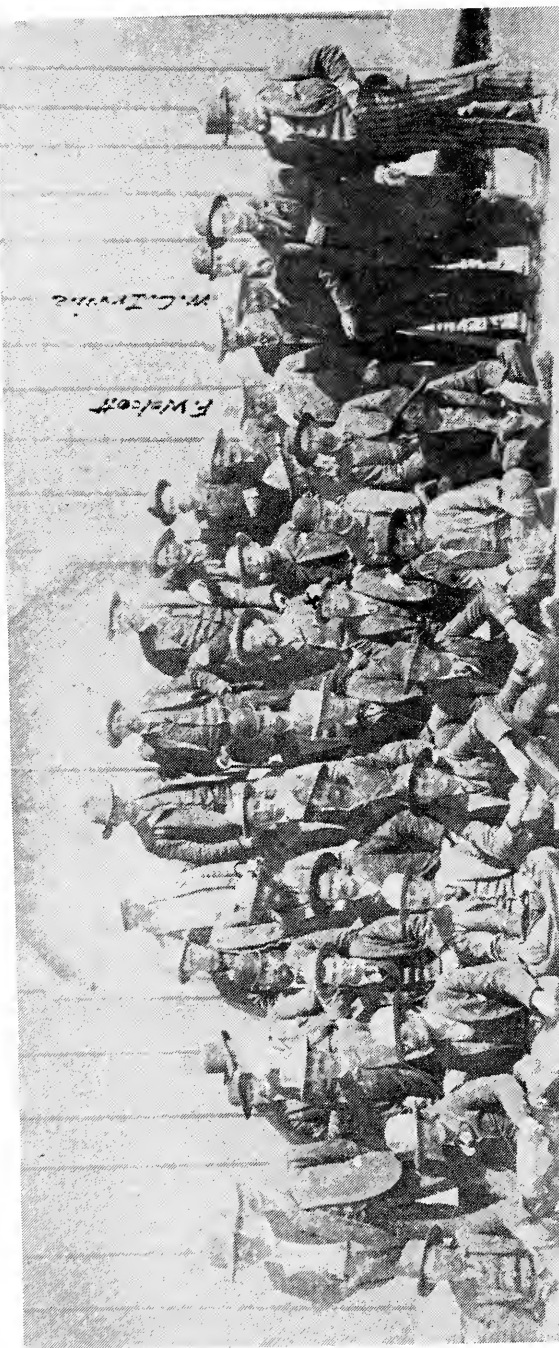
The book tells of Fred Hesse's long range rifle. I don't remember what gun Hesse had, but it was me that had *the gun* on that trip. It was Billy Luykins gun—a Sharps 40-90 with a Frewen Patent breech. Billy left it with Ijams (pronounced Imes) for me, and I took it back to Ijams when we got back to Cheyenne.

Billy Luykins—he did the rustlers more harm than anyone else in the country, and they never even knew he was there. I knew him, worked with him, but I never knew where he stayed, where he was from, or anything about him. I remember the first time I met him. I got orders to get on the train and go to such and such a siding, then get off and go along the tracks to where I'd find a man by a pile of ties. That was Billy Luykins.

After the troops had taken us to Buffalo, while we were under guard at Fort McKinney, word was brought in that Dud Champion, Nate Champion's brother, wanted to see Mike Shonsey and me. I had known Dud on the range—a slow-moving, slow-working man. We refused to see him. I had no gun, and if he had killed us there, he could never have been convicted in that country. I told Mike then that we'd have to look out for him, that he'd try to kill whichever one of us he could get to easiest. It turned out to be Mike. After we'd been tried and turned loose in Cheyenne, and Mike was up near Lusk, Dud Champion rode up to Mike where he was out watching a herd with a couple of other fellows. Mike beat him to the draw and killed him.

When we left Fort McKinney to ride to the railroad an incident happened that impressed me with the power of the military, of disciplined troops, and I often think of it. Leaving the fort we ran into a bunch of those rustlers blocking the way past a patch of willows. The soldiers tried to shove them out of the way; they wouldn't move. Major [E. G.] Fechet gave the order, "Ready arms!", and 300 carbines flashed out. Those fellows moved!

Those soldiers didn't like us, and they made it plain. They'd been stationed there in that country, and their sympathies were all on that side. (Dunning's "confession" says that the soldiers had been getting stolen beef, or stealing it themselves, and putting the



Johnson County, Curtis Review - Prisoners at Ft. Dodge, Kansas - 1892

A.B. Clark, E.W. Whitecomb, A.D. Williamson, C.S. Ford, W.H. Tabor, G.R. Tucker, J.L. Bond,
J.E. Cooke, B.M. Morrison, W.A. Wilson, M.A. McNelly, Bob Berlin, W.S. Devine, S. Sherman,
Alexander, W.J. Clarke, John Garrett, Wm. Armstrong, Buck Garrett, F.D. Lutz, W.C.
Johnson, Alex Amussen, R.M. Cantor, M.S. Irvine, McTidale, W.E. Wallace, F.D. Billings, J.P. H.
Johnson, J.A.E. Smith, J.S. Hedges, Phil DuFran, Wm Little, Ed. Trisdale, O. Hayman, M. Shanks,
A.C. Edwards, C.A. Campbell, A.M. Farmer, J.F. Tucker, B.W. Taylor, D. Bedford, Jackson,
Frank Waldorf, B. Schultz, - Names not in order, copied from "Loughest Road by Baker"

money they saved by not drawing beef rations into luxuries, so that they were able to have "plum duff three times a day".)

Down at Fort Russell we weren't guarded; we went wherever we pleased. A new officer came in one night to check up on the prisoners; Billy Irvine and I were the only ones there. He said, "Where's all these prisoners?" Billy Irvine waved his hand toward the beds, "Why, they're right here. Don't you see them?" He caught on. "Oh, yes, I see them."

I don't remember the fight among the Texans that the Campbell book speaks of, but I remember a consequence of it. The soldiers came in and took all our guns. I went to the commanding officer, Major [H. C.] Egbert. I told him, "You know we go down town. I can get a gun if I want it. I'd like to have a gun, but I don't want it unless I have your permission to have it." He got up and went out for a minute, came back in and talked with me for a while. An orderly came in and put a package on the desk in front of me, and went out. The major and I talked on for a while, and then I took the package and left. My pistol was in the package.

Years later, in Oregon, I had a friend Sid Luce who had been a soldier in the Philippines. I asked him if he had met Colonel Egbert there. He said, "I helped carry his body off the field."

After the trial was over, Mike Shonsey started to Montana to take charge of a herd there, and I went along as, I suppose, what you'd call a bodyguard. We left the train at Moorcroft, and Billy Ricketts, of the Half Circle L, met us at the 101 with horses. He warned us to turn back, said we'd be killed if we didn't. The man in charge of the ranch at the 101 asked us if we planned to spend the night there. We said, yes, we'd planned to. He said, "You're welcome, of course, but if you stay I'm going to take my family and get out of here, because there'll sure be a battle before morning." Well, that convinced us, and we turned back.

After this I was sent to work with Sam Moses, near the Nebraska line. Whether I was working for the Wyoming or the South

(See photo opposite page)

Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department

JOHNSON COUNTY INVADERS AT FORT D. A. RUSSELL. CHEYENNE

Standing, left to right: Tom Smith, A. B. Clarke, J. N. Leslie, E. W. Whitcomb, D. Brooke (The Texas Kid), W. B. Wallace, Charles Ford, A. R. Powers, A. D. Adamson, C. A. Campbell, Frank Laberteaux, Phil Dufran, Major Frank Wolcott, W. E. Guthrie, W. C. Irvine, Bob Tisdale, Joe Elliott, John Tisdale, Scott Davis; seated, rear, left to right: Fred De Billier, Ben Morrison, W. J. Clarke, L. H. Parker, H. E. Teschemacher, B. C. Schulze; seated second row, left to right: W. H. Tabor, J. A. Garrett, W. A. Wilson, J. Barlings, M. A. McNally, Mike Shonsey, Dick Allen, Fred Hesse, Frank Canton; seated, front, left to right: William Little, Jeff Mynett, Bob Barlings, S. Sutherland, Buck Garrett, G. R. Tucker, J. M. Benford, Will Armstrong.

Dakota Association I'm not sure; I made the change about that time.

I remember a couple of the cases we handled.

There was a fellow we called Spokane, who had a little place on Hat Creek. He'd drive out, shoot down what he wanted, and haul it in to a fellow in Edgemont who'd dispose of it for him.

We watched him one day—Sam, Ed Blaikie and me—until he'd made his kill, and then we made a run on him. Sam yelled for him to surrender, but he jumped and grabbed his six-gun, and then jumped back behind the beef. He took a shot at us, and we opened up on him and wounded him in a place or two. He yelled out then; Sam told him to stand up. He did. When we got up there to him, Sam asked him what he started shooting for. "Spoke, what did you do a fool thing like that for?" He said, "I figured you sons of bitches would kill me anyway, so I might as well put up a fight." That's the kind of idea they had of us. He got five years, I think.

We had another case at about that time over in the northwest corner of Nebraska. A pair of ranchers over there were driving cattle into an old stable, and butchering them there. Sam and I and another fellow sat up with them until they started their kill in the morning, and then made a run on them. The barn was a half dugout, built into the side of a hill, with a hole in the top of it for shoveling hay down to the stock. One of the fellows crawled out of the hole and ran off. We yelled for him to stop, but he was deaf, and it's a wonder we didn't kill him. But the other boys got him stopped without hurting him. I jumped down the hole into the stable, where the other man was, with Sam right behind me. It was dark-like, and I couldn't see this second man. When I did see him, he was standing there with a big Colts .45 in both hands, just paralyzed with fear, too scared even to drop his gun when I yelled at him. I walked up to him and took the gun out of his hands. That was what you can call a hell of a situation—his wife and kids crying and yelling out there, and me afraid I was going to have to kill him.

They were tried at Harrison, I think. Sam didn't want me to go down there; I had such a reputation in that country that he knew he'd never get a conviction if the jury knew I had anything to do with it. But they were acquitted anyway, Sam told me later; a big storm came up during the trial, and the ranchers on the jury wanted to get home to their stock, so they just turned them loose.

It was at about this time that I went up and went to work for the Western South Dakota Stockgrower's Association. As time went by I discovered that the worst thieves in the country were a few of the men who hired me. One of them told the Association he didn't want me to come up in his part of the country—"didn't want to antagonize the people." I found out later that he had a better reason than that for not wanting me around.

One outfit in Deadwood had a big furnace under their slaughter house, where they burned their hides. When someone suggested that they be looked over, this same fellow said, "Oh, they're too big—they wouldn't pull anything crooked."

This man and his partner stole \$200,000 worth of cattle in one summer, I was told, stealing from the company this first fellow was working for.

Another pair bought a herd there, and the man in charge of the herd worked with them to rob his company. They bought the inspector in Omaha to get the cattle through, and told the eastern owners that the Indians had stolen their beef.

Another big cattleman took me to his home in Sturgis for dinner, introduced me to his family, treated me nice—and spread-the-news-to-Mary: "Look out—there's a detective in the country."

The head of the Association was honest, a front man. He didn't know anything. He wrote me, when he sent me out on a job, "The success of your mission depends entirely upon your identity remaining unknown." The biggest thief down there was one of the men who had hired me.

Here in Boise, Bill [Al?] Currington told me this story. He overheard Frank Stewart, the secretary of the Association, and someone else discussing who they should send out on a job. They decided to send me. Bill sent his brother Gene out to warn some friends of theirs that I was coming down.

The first job I did was over on the Belle Fourche, and I sent back for more help—too much ground to cover. They sent me Ed Hart. The thieves were stealing stock in the Short Pine hills, and hauling the beef into Belle Fourche. About all we could manage to do was scare them off, make them quit stealing.

The son of the man who had the beef contract for the reservation told me, "This is rustling country, and the rustlers will do more for you than the cowmen will."

I knew what that meant. They wanted to buy me.

But I didn't sell.

I liked that stock detective work. It was a good job. But it got mighty disagreeable in that country. It's like this: you ride out across country; there's a ranch here, one over there, ranches strung along the creek. You assume that these cattlemen—you assume that they're cattlemen when you go in there—you assume that they're your friends; you're working for them, working to protect them. Then, gradually, you find out that they're against you, that they don't want you in there, that you're working for your enemies.

There were more thieves between the Black Hills and Pierre than there were cattlemen.

There were men that wanted me, that fought for me and kept me there.

"This is rustling country," that fellow said. He was right.

Gene Currington, here in Boise, has told me, "I don't see how you stayed alive in that country, Joe. I knew so many men who said they were going to get you; so many groups of men threatening to kill you."

That was principally because of the reputation I got over in Wyoming. "Joe Elliott—he's the man that murdered all those people over there."

I ran up against that all the time.

I had been buying cattle, and was sitting in a hotel in Belle Fourche figuring up my books one time, when I heard a commotion out in the street. I said, "What's going on?" "Oh," someone said, "there's a fellow out there trying to get in to kill you." He was drunk; his wife and friends were trying to stop him. They got him stopped. I knew his wife, and I knew him. He wasn't a tough nut, wasn't that kind of a fellow at all. I finished up my books, and then left the hotel by the back way.

I bought a good many cattle around Belle Fourche at that time. Reddy Hale, Jack Hale's brother, put up the money and I did the buying. The day we shipped, cattle dropped fifty cents a hundred on the Chicago market. We just broke even by the skin of our teeth. That was enough for me.

At another time, in Sturgis, a man nearly made me kill him, and he didn't even know me. Sheriff Jesse Brown came and told me this fellow was trailing me, and said, "Don't let those fellows run you out of town, Joe." I took my Winchester into Fred Willard's butcher shop and hung it there. I said, "If that fellow trails me in here I'm going to kill him." Willard says, "That's all right with me, Joe." Well, he followed me, all right, followed me into the shop. I was standing back there with my hand on my gun when he came in. I could have taken him into my pile, all right. He stood there a minute, and turned around and walked out. And then Willard cussed me because I didn't kill him. "Joe, why didn't you kill him?" Well—you can't do that way. I couldn't take up a quarrel with every man that was against me; I couldn't kill them all.

When Ed Lemmon went back to South Dakota after visiting me here, he saw this Joe Green, and Green told him, "I'd be glad to shake his hand in friendship." I was glad to hear that.

I met Calamity Jane again during this time. I was sent up to Miles City after a prisoner. I had a requisition from our governor to the governor of Montana, but there was a flaw in it. I sent it back to South Dakota to get it corrected.

While I was waiting for it to come back, I used to go fishing; used to cross the Yellowstone on a ferry there.

Staying at the hotel where I did, was a nice quiet young man about my age, named Burke. We got acquainted and went fishing together. One day he asked me if I'd ever known Calamity Jane. I said I had. "Well," he said, "she's my wife, and she'll be down here after a while." He told me she'd been cooking in a logging

camp when he met her. She did come down, and we made friends right away—talked about old friends in the Hills. She'd cook our fish for us. They had a little girl, that I assumed was theirs.

Before long I got my papers back, and took my prisoner back to South Dakota. We traveled by wagon. At the Powder River crossing some friends told me that the rustlers had learned I was coming through the country and that they were going to take my prisoner away from me. But I didn't see anyone till I was out a few miles past Stoneville—Alzada—when I saw a man coming on the road, with a Winchester under his leg. I handed the lines to the prisoner, and held my Winchester across my lap and watched the rider as he went by. He might have been completely innocent—probably was—but I didn't give him any chance.

I had told the prisoner that if his friends tried to take him away from me I'd kill him first, and he was pretty nervous.

Not long after that the Burkes came down and stayed at Scollard's hotel in Sturgis. Scollard was mad at me about that—"sending Calamity Jane to my hotel"—but she was all right, she behaved herself. She looked and acted just like a big German housewife.

Later she went up to a mining camp—Terry, above Lead City—and I understand she died there.

I don't think I ever saw Calamity Jane drunk, or carrying a gun—and look at all the stories they tell about her now. In the early days she was just a town woman, of course, a common prostitute, plying her trade at Pierre and in the Hills. But I think all this shoot-em-up stuff they write about her is pure fiction.

Years later, I saw in the California papers Scollard's name listed as one of the jurors in the trial of Abe Ruef, the San Francisco political boss.

In Sturgis ("Scoop", or "Scoop-town", we called it in the early days) I had a room at V. M. Beaver's house, and a barn where I could keep my horse, so that I could come into town or leave any time I wanted without attracting attention.

Beaver and Jesse Brown took turns being sheriff there for a long time—all the time I was in that country, at least. The law provided that a man could hold office for only one term—two years, I think—so first one and then the other would be sheriff. Beaver, when he wasn't sheriff, would be night marshall in Sturgis. I was deputy sheriff under both of them. At one time, I was a deputy sheriff in three counties at once.

I was at Beaver's the day Fred Willard killed Roy Sewell.

Roy broke jail (he was there for rustling), stole a Winchester from Fred Willard's butcher shop—walked in and took it off the wall—and went down to the livery stable. I think he told them to saddle his horse. Then he started back up the street. It was said that he was going back to kill a man before he left town. The man ran a little store there—a sort of a confectionery or variety store—

and the story was that he'd told something on Roy that wasn't true.

Fred ran across the street to the hardware store and got a gun and went down the street toward the barn. He told me later that he figured he'd be responsible if anyone was killed with that gun Roy had taken from him. He saw Sewell coming, and ordered him to drop the gun. Sewell fired and missed; Fred shot Sewell and he bled to death in just a little while.

They said that Roy's sweetheart came where he was lying, and dipped her handkerchief in his blood.

That was a damn fool thing for Roy to do. He could have just walked into the brush there and no one would have hunted him very hard. He was a well-liked young man.

I was in Sundance the time Jack O'Hara was killed in the fight at Stoneville. Jack had said to Fred Willard, "First time you want a posse, give me a chance. I'd like to go out with you." I think Fred was a deputy U. S. marshall at that time.

Some time after that Fred had a warrant for Axelbee, and heard that him and his horsethieves were over at Stoneville. He took his brother Cap—I think Cap was sheriff at Custer—and Jack O'Hara, and went out there. When they came into town they didn't stop at the saloon, but went on over to the hotel—Stone's place. They hadn't much more than got there than Axelbee's bunch, over at the saloon, pulled out—got in the brush along the river. Fred and Cap and Jack ran out and the ball opened. Some of Axelbee's pack animals got loose and ran back, and the boys at the saloon commenced shooting in front of them trying to scare them back to the outlaws. Like all fool cowpunchers, they favored the outlaw against the officer. Axelbee's gang thought the boys in the saloon were shooting at them, and opened up on them—I think they killed two of their friends there.

O'Hara was killed about the first fire. Fred and Cap thought the shot came from the saloon. O'Hara knew he couldn't live but a few minutes. He said, "Remember me to the wife and kids." It was about Christmas time, and he said, "I'll miss the Tom and Jerries, won't I?"

One of the outlaws was wounded but got away to a ranch down the river. The foreman sent word he was there. Fred went down and got him—killed him there.

I asked Fred later what became of Axelbee, and he told me this: "Cap and me found him in a cabin down on O'Fallon Creek, and left him there."

At one time, Lew Stone was suspected of being in with the rustlers. The vigilantes had hung a couple of them—strung them up with their money and watches piled under their feet, it was said, to show that this killing wasn't for money. Then they sent word to Lew Stone to leave the country. He posted a notice, to this effect: "Whoever has investigated me has made a mistake. I'm not guilty, and I'm going to stay." And he did stay.

Lew Stone was a fine man. There ought to be a monument to him in that country.

I helped arrest and convict the men who murdered old Johnny Myers on his ranch there, southeast of Sturgis. I had known old Johnny years before, when we were both freighting into the hills. After the freighting days were over, he'd bought himself a little place where he could cut a lot of wild hay, and went into the cattle business.

He was feeding calves there one evening when three men came along. He invited them to stop in, and went to getting supper for them, while they sat on a bunk watching him. Jay Hicks, one of the three, pulled his pistol and yelled, "Hey, old man!" Johnny turned and threw up his hands, and Jay shot him—claimed he thought he was going to put up a fight. While he lay there on the floor they demanded his money; he gave them all he had—36 dollars. They insisted he had more, but he didn't. He had shipped cattle, and they assumed he had the money for them.

They left him lying there, and built a fire in the middle of the room, intending to burn the house down, but it just burned a hole in the floor and went out.

He was found within a few days. We discovered the date he was killed by checking on a bottle of medicine he had there. We knew when he got it—Jim Bard had got it for him—and the dose, and we measured it out and found just how long it had been before he was killed. He was a very methodical old fellow, and we knew he would have taken it just according to the prescription. We found later that we had figured it just right.

We discovered that Jay Hicks and his friends had bought a pistol—"to shoot coyotes", they'd said at the time. They all had Winchesters. That just about meant a man-killing.

Then an old man, who lived in the same neighborhood—I believe he was married to Jay Hicks' sister—suspicioned that they had done it, and came and told us so.

To get the goods on them, I went down one night and crawled up on one of their dirt-roofed cabins, where they were all gathered playing cards, and listened down the stove pipe to them talking, and heard them tell the whole thing.

We got out warrants for them, and Sheriff Beaver and me rode out there. Jay was chopping wood. He gave us no trouble. When we took his gun we found it was empty. I asked him, "Why are you carrying an empty gun, Jay?" He said, "Better empty than loaded, sometimes." Which was true enough, all right.

Then we went up and got the others—Bob Hicks, Will Walker, and Bob Walker. Bob Walker had nothing to do with it, but we wanted him anyway.

We were razzed about those arrests. No one believed they'd done it. On the way in with the prisoners, we stopped at Gene Holcomb's ranch, and they razzed me about it. "You don't really

believe those boys are guilty. You're just trying to build up a reputation for yourself."

I told Tom Howry, the prosecuting attorney, what I knew, but I also told him I wouldn't get up on the stand and tell that story; no one would have believed it.

We kept the prisoners apart. We kept Jay Hicks and Bob Walker in Sturgis, I believe, Bob Hicks at Rapid, and Will Walker in Custer. We cautioned the jailer never to speak to Bob Walker, and not to let anyone else talk to him.

Our problem was to hold them until we got more and better evidence. The examining magistrate was Judge Ash. It was his custom to stop in at Whittenbaugh's saloon early afternoon and get a drink. I got the sheriff and the prosecuting attorney to go with me to where he was, in the back room, and talk to him. We had a drink or two, and then we asked him, "Can you hold them for us?" He said, "Well, boys, you haven't enough evidence." I said, "I know positively that they did it."

He fidgeted a little while, and then said, "I've known you for a long time, Joe, and I never knew you to pull a bad stunt. I'll hold them for you."

We kept getting razzed about those arrests. The school children took a vote, and voted them not guilty.

In a few weeks Bob Walker began asking for the sheriff, but we let him sweat a while, until finally he told the whole story. Then we showed Will Walker his brother Bob's confession, and he admitted it all.

When the trial came up, Will Walker and Bob Hicks got prison sentences, and Jay Hicks was sentenced to hang. I sat in the window behind the judge when sentence was pronounced. Jay was as calm as any man, but the judge's legs were trembling. At the hanging, I put on the black cap, and when I pulled Jay's legs together it threw him a little off balance, and Conklin put out his hand to steady him. Jay smiled and said, "I'm a little unsteady this morning." He was the calmest man of us all.

The fall of 1900 I decided to leave that country, and I decided that the best way to go was just to walk out—to disappear. I wanted to make a clean break with the whole thing, to put it all behind me. I was tired of having to be on the watch every minute, tired of making enemies.

I was up at Jack Boyden's, hunting and fishing. I left my horse and saddle and other stuff right there, took my Winchester and struck out, headed south and west. The first night I stayed at a house in Bear Gulch, the next I camped out, the third I stopped at a section house below Merino. On the fifth day I walked right by where we'd buried Waggoner nearly ten years before. That night I saw a storm was coming, so I built a wickiup in a cottonwood grove and slept there. It snowed like blazes the next day. I came to a sheep wagon, and built me a fire near it. The owner and his

wife came up there, bringing grub to the herder, and they told me to go on in the wagon, but I waited for the herder to come in, and spent the night there with him.

The next day, I believe, I made it into Douglas. The man at the livery stable there thought I was Joe Elliott—he'd worked with me—but I talked him out of it. He said, "Aren't you Joe Elliott?" I said no. I told him I'd come up with a herd, and made an ass of myself, and wanted to get back home.

On the way south from Douglas, a Frenchman by the name of Cully—Calais—overtook me in a wagon, and picked me up. He had a place up on the head of La Bonte. I spent a few days up there with him, pretending to prospect for copper. There was a good deal of it in there, all right.

I left there and headed on south. It was snowing, and it kept getting deeper. I saw a light, finally, that turned out to be a ranch owned by a couple of railroaders—two fine fellows. They told me a story of pawning a diamond ring with Johnny Owens, and of Owens refusing to give it back to them. I left my Winchester with them—told them I'd send back for it, though I knew I never would.

I went on from there to a mail carrier's. He rented me a horse, and we struck out together across the plains to Rock Creek. I was glad I didn't try that on foot. There was no timber, and it was cold. It took us till after dark to make it on horseback.

The agent at Rock Creek sent to Omaha for my ticket, and had it sent through with the conductor on the train for me. It cost me just half as much to buy a ticket for Sacramento from Omaha as from Rock Creek.

I arrived there on Christmas day. It was warm, and I shed my overcoat and caught pneumonia. I stayed at a hotel—the Great Western—until I was well; then paid my bill and left. I went over to Davisville. I walked into a hotel there, put my valise on the counter, and said, "I'd like to speak to the proprietor." The man at the desk said, "I'm the proprietor." I said, "I need a room for the night, but I'm broke." He turned the book around to me. "Sign right here."

I signed, and he gave me a room. The next morning I was eating in the dining room and the man waiting table said, "Are you on the road?"—meaning are you broke? I said yes, and he gave me enough food to last a man two or three days. Frank Hunt was the name of the man who ran that hotel. I went back to the desk and said, "I'd like to have some underwear out of my suitcase." He said, "Take the suitcase, I don't want it. Take it along." Well, I didn't take it; I didn't want it.

I slept in a barn that night. A hobo I met on the road showed me how to burrow down in the hay, but I nearly froze. The next day I went over to Dunnegan. I walked into a hotel; a man sat there reading a newspaper. I said, "I need a room, and I haven't

any money." He put the paper down. "Oh, I get that forty times a day," and put the paper back up. I said, "Thank you", and turned to go. He called to me, "Wait a minute. Will you work?" I said, "Yes." Within a week he went to San Francisco, leaving his girl Cammy in charge of the kitchen, and me in charge of the office and stable. Then for a time I worked for his son in a vineyard. I almost had to sneak away from there to leave them.

Over in Red Bluff, I stacked hay for an old man, who wanted me to go into the hog business with him. He wanted me to take charge of the hogs, and take an interest in them for my pay. But I didn't want to raise hogs; I wanted to get into the mines.

I went over to Weaverville, and went to work at the Dutch Creek placer, augur drilling. There were a lot of dead holes in the pit we were working in. I didn't say anything for a time, but then I got enough of it and went down to the office and asked for my time. They kept me waiting around there all day. Finally the superintendent said to me, "Don't you want to work for us?" I said, "Yes, but not up in that hole." Well, they gave me a job around there. Later on they laid off 60 men, and kept me and one other fellow. I figured they didn't want me to leave—suppose someone was killed up there, and I had quit because it was too dangerous?

Working there on the crew was an old fellow, O. L. Slack, from Maine, who had been in the country a long time. He was a great talker, like most of those old fellows, and he'd tell the crowd about some rich ground he had found once on Forty Dollar Gulch, while he was out hunting. He said he'd taken a sample, and got 75 cents a pan. He'd say, "I'm going up there some time." I tried to get him interested in going; finally went up there to his place and stayed with him for a while. We panned around his place; we could stick the box in anywhere and make a dollar a day. But every time I'd suggest going out to look up this place he'd talked so much about, he'd say, "Oh, there's plenty of time." Well, I guess there was.

I got disgusted. I went down to Junction City and went to work for Frank Blake—and later for Jim Mullane—in the butcher shop. Like most cowpunchers, I was a sort of a left-handed butcher.

Later, I went up Forty Dollar Gulch and looked for this rich ground on my own. The first place I stuck my pick I hit right into it. I got a pardner, Jim O'Neill, and worked it two or three winters, and cleared about \$6000 out of it.

I've never been able to understand that. This old Slack had been going past that ground, within sight of it, on his way to town at least once a week for 20 years, and never took the trouble to do anything with it.

I hired some Chinese to work for me there. I'd stand around and boss them, tell them what to do. Finally one of them said to me, "Joe, you nice fellow, you alla time talky-talk too much.

China boy, he heap savvy how to do it." So I kept my mouth shut and let them work. They savvied, all right.

I think it was my first winter on that ground that I went down to Folsom prison.

They had had a big break down there. The prisoners just rebelled and took over the prison. The authorities soon got things under control, though.

They sent out an appeal for men. A friend of mine, who was or had been a member of the state legislature, told me about it, and suggested that I go down. I did, but I stayed only two or three days. I liked the place they gave me to stay fine, and the Captain of the guards was a first-class man, but I couldn't stand the hours—four hours on and four hours off. The warden tried to talk me into it, but I wouldn't stay.

Two or three winters there I went down to Chico and herded geese for McKnight, I think his name was. He owned or leased a whole series of ranches there. My job was to keep the wild geese out of the winter wheat—camp out there with a shotgun and scare them away.

I bought an orchard 18 miles from Chico, at Cohasset. I left an old miner, Ben Sain, on it, to look after it. He got tired of staying there and left it. I got a chance to sell it, and let it go—doubled my money.

I bought an interest in a mine there at Junction City, owned by Fred Hass. It was good ground, but we got into legal difficulties and lost out.

There was a mortgage on it, and the interest, I think, was past due. I took \$300 in to the banker who held the mortgage; he hemmed and hawed and wouldn't take it. I sent it to another bank, subject to his order. This banker was a cripple. He couldn't walk, but could ride a bicycle; rode all around town, a strange thing it that country.

We had a lawsuit over it. The case was tried in the local court there in Weaverville, before Judge Jimmy Bartlett. We lost, but appealed to the state supreme court, and they sent the case back for a new trial.

By that time, though, I was up in Oregon, and our lawyer, W. C. Bissell, had gone over to Manhattan, Nevada, and died there. I just let it go. Fred Hass came up to where I was working, at Plush, and asked me to sign some papers so that he could get something out of it. I said, "All right, Fred," and signed them.

I walked out of Weaverville with \$12 in my pocket. Johnny Boice—he was sheriff there, afterwards—offered to loan me a hundred dollars, but I refused it. A sister of Jim O'Neill, my partner at the Gold Dollar, offered to put up the money to fight out the lawsuit—she said she could raise \$6000—but I couldn't take it. Too much risk.

I went up past Fort Jones, where U. S. Grant was stationed back

before the Civil War, and on into Oregon. I went by boat down to Klamath Falls, then by stage over to Lakeview and over to Plush. The stage out to Plush was just a wagon. At noon, they turned the horses out to graze, then hitched up again and went on.

Plush was a new camp. I had a chance to make some money there. But I had a pardner. He and I located some claims, right between the two main prospects. J. J. Riley and the other promoters there told me they could get us \$4000 for our claims. Jack Green, my pardner, went up in the air when I suggested it—he thought I was working with them to cheat him. I was with them a good deal, went fishing with them, and so on. I figured it was good business to associate with men like that, but my pardner thought I was selling him out. Everyone was puffing us on what good claims we had. He wanted \$10,000 for his share.

I was there about four years, I think. I was a deputy sheriff at Plush for some time, but there wasn't much in it—only the fees, and in an isolated place like that they didn't amount to much.



B. W. Hope Photo

JOE ELLIOTT
AT ABOUT 80 YEARS OF AGE

Riley hired me to make a report on their holdings there. There was a payment coming due, and they wanted a report before they made it. I reported unfavorably, and they didn't make the payment.

Riley hired me to go scouting for them—looking for good prospects. I went first to National, in Nevada. I had started for some other camp, but Riley wrote me that it had blown up (it hadn't, it turned out) and for me to stay in National. Sid Luce came down from Plush and wintered there with me.

Then I came to Boise. After I'd been here a few days, I walked out to St. Luke's Hospital with a man, to visit a patient, and then wandered out to the hills north of town, just to rubber around. I met a man working at a flume there, and we talked a while together. I complained about the expenses here. I think I was paying three dollars a day at the Pacific Hotel. He said, "You don't need to worry about board here. There's lots of little boarding houses here where you can eat reasonably. My sister is running one right down here."

He gave me the number. I went around—knocked at the door—and met the lady who became my wife.

I often think about my life, the mistakes I made, the bad luck I had, and think, "If I'd done this or that . . ." But I wouldn't change a minute of it, if I could, because it all brought me here, to this: my wife, my sons in the service, my daughter here, these grandchildren. I wouldn't ask more of life than this.



Courtesy of T. A. Larson

U. S. SENATOR JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY

Joseph C. O'Mahoney and the 1952 Senate Election in Wyoming

By

BARTON R. VOIGT

THE POSTWAR CONTEXT

Nineteen hundred and fifty-two looked as though it would be a good year for the Republican party. For 20 long years, through the Great Depression and World War II, the people of the United States had chosen Democrats to lead the country against the problems of the economic crisis at home, and the shock of war abroad. The Democrats had brought vast changes, as the New Deal and the Fair Deal challenged old social and economic beliefs. Americans of the 1930s and 1940s had been willing to accept most of these changes as extreme but necessary weapons against the depression and the problems of war. But throughout the two decades of Democratic rule, a great many Americans had kept their strong conservative biases.

The end of the war in 1945 gave those with a more conservative philosophy an opportunity openly to espouse their beliefs without danger of being accused of interfering with the administration during wartime. The first Republican Congress since the days of Herbert Hoover was elected in 1946. Questions of "reconversion," wartime federal controls, inflation, strikes and shortages were central issues during the new postwar period. In addition, the development of the Cold War so soon after the end of the World War produced in many Americans a sense of "what's the use?" and a desire for a new isolationism. On top of all these problems,

Submitted to the Department of History and the Graduate School of the University of Wyoming in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of master of arts, this analysis is based on a county-by-county study of the vote in 1952, as compared to earlier elections, and stresses the importance of state and local issues and Democratic party problems in determining the outcome of the election.

the spectre of the Communist threat in Europe gave many Americans a feeling of grave insecurity.¹

By 1948, discontent with President Truman's handling of domestic and foreign problems was widespread. Even most Democratic party leaders agreed that Truman probably should not be re-nominated for the presidency.² But in one of the most spectacular presidential campaigns in American history, Truman's "shock tactics" stimulated a much larger voter turn-out than had been expected, and he was returned to the White House. Unfortunately for the Democrats, however, their problems had just begun. In 1949 a moderate recession hit the country, the Russians exploded an atomic bomb and the huge Republic of China fell to the Communists. The Truman administration was assailed from all sides in response to the decaying world situation, and in the midst of the turmoil, the Alger Hiss case astounded the nation with the possibility that the American government, itself, might be infested with Communists. As can be expected in American politics in such situations, "Give 'em Hell Harry" and his party caught more "hell" than they managed to give out. No matter whether blame could be directly traced to the administration:

Whatever the merits and deficiencies of the Roosevelt-Truman handling of the Communist problem, the Democrat leadership was a perfect devil to be flayed. What party had been in power while Communism made progress inside and outside the United States?³

As if the previous year had not brought enough trouble for the Truman administration, the events of 1950 continued to shatter the hopes of re-establishing peace and prosperity. That summer, the North Koreans invaded South Korea, bringing the United Nations and the United States face-to-face with their first major postwar test. Along with the new war came another major price spiral in the United States, adding to the business uncertainties that already existed as a result of earlier recessions and spirals. The crippling burden of problems being carried by the Democratic administration grew even heavier as the Kefauver Senate Investigating Committee began uncovering instance after instance of corruption within the federal government. As a last straw, President Truman's firing of the extremely popular General Douglas MacArthur in April, 1951, brought down upon Truman a barrage of complaint and abuse.

It was no wonder that the Republicans looked forward to the 1952 elections with hope and great expectations. Democratic

1. For a good analysis of this period, see either Eric F. Goldman, *The Crucial Decade—and After: America 1945-1960* (New York: Random House, 1960), or Cabell B. Phillips, *The Truman Presidency* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966).

2. Goldman, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

3. Goldman, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

foreign and domestic policies in the past several years had become increasingly unpopular. The triple threat of Korea, Communism and corruption gave Americans of both major political faiths and all economic classes reason to feel insecure and to desire change. The biggest problem of the Republicans was to find the presidential candidate who could best capitalize on the discontent. Even with all the conservative feeling present in 1952, the Republicans passed by their seemingly most obvious choice for the presidential nomination, Senator Robert Taft of Ohio. After a long courtship, the G. O. P. finally managed to win over General Dwight D. Eisenhower as the party's nominee. With popular, middle-of-the-road "Ike" at the head of the ticket, the Republicans confidently prepared for the election.

The Democrats, not as optimistic as their opponents, also passed by their expected candidate, Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, and nominated Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois as their standard-bearer. With widespread popular appeal nowhere near that of General Eisenhower, Governor Stevenson faced a formidable task.

Along with control of the executive branch of the federal government, the Republicans wanted to gain control of the legislature. Realizing the extent of their candidate's popularity, they hoped to use Eisenhower's coattails to change the make-up of Congress in their favor. Party statisticians calculated that this strategy would succeed or fail according to the outcomes of elections in twelve states where party control was narrowly balanced between Democrats and Republicans.⁴ *Newsweek* magazine devoted a special article each week from September 15 through November 3, 1952, to what it considered the 15 crucial Senate races which would decide the make-up of the new Senate.⁵ *Time* and *Life* magazines agreed that 15 races were central to the fight for control of Congress.⁶ In all four of these diagnoses, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming appeared as one of the major targets of the Republicans.

Senator O'Mahoney was singled out for attack for several reasons. Writing of Wyoming politics the month before the election, the *Rocky Mountain News* commented:

4. "How Parties Line Up For 1952," *U. S. News & World Report*, Volume XXXI, November 30, 1951, pp. 26-27. The 12 states, with a total electorate vote of 121, were Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New York, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.

5. *Newsweek*, Volume XL, September 15 through November 3, 1952.

6. "The Fight for the Senate," *Time*, Volume LX, November 3, 1952, pp. 27-28, and "470 Local Elections Will Decide the New President's Congress," *Life*, Volume XXXII, November 3, 1952, p. 49.

Senator O'Mahoney is one of the chief targets in the G. O. P. campaign to win control of the United States Senate. He is the oldest, the *most influential* and highest on the seniority list of the Democratic senators the Republicans believe they have a chance to beat.⁷

The Republicans hoped that, despite O'Mahoney's position as one of the highest ranking Democratic senators, the G. O. P. in traditionally Republican Wyoming might be able to capitalize on general discontent with the Democrats and special grievances against O'Mahoney to turn the Senator out of office.

A BATTLE OF TITANS

Joseph Christopher O'Mahoney was born in Chelsea, Massachusetts, on November 5, 1884, and spent his boyhood there. After attending Columbia University for three years, he went west, living first in Denver, Colorado, and then moving to nearby Boulder. In 1912 he was a Bull Moose Republican and in 1916 he supported Woodrow Wilson for the presidency. In 1916 he was invited by Wyoming's Governor John B. Kendrick to come to Cheyenne as city editor for the *State Leader*, Kendrick's newspaper. When Kendrick went to Washington D. C. the following year as Wyoming's new Democratic Senator, he took O'Mahoney with him as an assistant.

During the 1920s O'Mahoney became a leading member of Wyoming's Democratic Party, running most of the party's campaigns. In 1924, he ran for the U. S. Senate, but was defeated in the primary election by Robert R. Rose.⁸ Four years later he became Democratic National Committeeman from Wyoming. In the presidential election year of 1932, he was named vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee and helped write the platform for the national party. When Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected to the presidency, O'Mahoney's close connection with Jim Farley, who had been chairman of the Democratic National Committee, helped him achieve a position of importance in the new administration. He was mentioned as a possible choice for several posts, including the attorney generalship (he had finished a law degree while working for Senator Kendrick), Secretary of the Interior, and head of the Federal Land Office. Finally, Roosevelt

7. *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), October 3, 1952, clipping, Joseph C. O'Mahoney Collection, File Box 169, no folder, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie. (O'Mahoney Collection hereinafter referred to as OMC; FF will be used to indicate File Folder.)

8. *1925 Wyoming Official Directory and 1924 Election Returns*, compiled by the Secretary of State, Cheyenne, Wyoming, 1925. The vote was 6906 to 4480. L. E. Laird, another Democrat, received 3400 votes.

appointed him first assistant to the new postmaster general, Jim Farley.⁹

A big break came for O'Mahoney in 1933 when, upon the sudden death of Senator Kendrick, Wyoming's Democratic Governor Leslie A. Miller appointed O'Mahoney to replace Kendrick until the next election.¹⁰ The following year, O'Mahoney successfully defended his seat against the Republican Vincent Carter, for both the unexpired term and a regular term to begin in 1935.

In the Senate, O'Mahoney worked hard for Wyoming's interests, within the general tenets of the New Deal. In 1937, the Sugar Act which he sponsored supported domestic sugar over Cuban sugar. Beginning in 1938, he helped keep foreign beef out of the United States. During the war, he earned the sobriquet "Mr. Wool" by using his influence to bring about a program of government purchase of wool. He also worked to keep the oil and mineral resources on the public domain available to the public for development. His biggest claim to fame, both in Wyoming and at the national level, was when he stood firm against President Roosevelt over the court packing issue.¹¹ In recognition of his ability as a political economist, O'Mahoney was named chairman of the Temporary National Economic Committee in 1939.

O'Mahoney's Wyoming supporters showed their appreciation for his endeavors by re-electing him to the Senate in 1940 and 1946. The 65,022 votes he received in 1940 was the largest number of votes ever given a candidate in Wyoming's history. A sampling of several of the pieces of legislation in which Senator O'Mahoney was involved during the years preceding 1952 suggests the types of issues in which he was interested and the kinds of positions he took: The O'Mahoney-Hatch Oil and Gas Act of 1946 was an attempt to increase oil and gas royalties; in 1948 O'Mahoney sponsored public backing of the development of the mineral and agricultural resources of the West; in 1948 he also suggested public control of industrial price increases; later in the same year he spoke out in favor of repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act; two years later he submitted a bill in the Senate calling for an excess profits tax, and backed an amendment which was meant to help block loopholes in

9. Short biographies of O'Mahoney can be found in Carl Moore, "Joseph Christopher O'Mahoney: A Brief Biography," *Annals of Wyoming*, Volume 41, Number 2 (October 1969), pp. 159-186, and in "O'Mahoney for Kendrick," *Time*, Volume XXIII, January 1, 1934, p. 7.

10. Miller's decision came as a result of a conference with noted Wyoming Democrats Tracy McCracken and John D. Clark, Carl Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

11. Gene M. Gressley, "Joseph C. O'Mahoney, FDR, and the Supreme Court," *Pacific Historical Review*, Volume XL, May 1971, pp. 183-202, and Thomas Richard Ninneman, "Joseph C. O'Mahoney: The New Deal and the Court Fight," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wyoming, Laramie, 1972.

the Clayton Anti-trust Act; after the Korean invasion, he made a speech suggesting that an ultimatum be delivered to the Red Chinese and the Russians demanding an end to North Korean attacks against the South.¹²

"Senator Joe," as O'Mahoney was called by many of his constituents and friends, was 68 years old in 1952, and had been in the U. S. Senate for 19 years. If re-elected, he would become the sixth-ranking Senator in the seniority structure so important in Congress. Most significant to Wyoming, he was chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. The extent of O'Mahoney's national popularity and widespread appeal is reflected in the many laudatory recommendations given him in 1952 and earlier. In previous presidential elections, he had been mentioned as a possible vice-presidential candidate for the Democrats. Before the 1952 Democratic National Convention met, some prominent western Democrats suggested O'Mahoney as a favorite son candidate for the presidency from the mountain states.¹³ Another favorable suggestion came from *U. S. News & World Report* in August 1952:

Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Senator from Wyoming, would be a natural Stevenson choice for Secretary of the Interior. This job, dealing with public lands, traditionally goes to a Westerner and the Senator is familiar with its problems.¹⁴

The July-August edition of the *Mountain States Beet Grower*, official organ of the West's sugar beet growers, commented on this news magazine's suggestion, congratulated Senator O'Mahoney for his hard work for domestic sugar interests, and added its hope that the Senator would remain in the Senate.¹⁵ As the beet growers well knew, there was little chance that O'Mahoney would become the new Secretary of the Interior. On August 1, he had been sent a copy of the proposed *Beet Grower* article, and on August 4, he had written to Richard W. Blake, Executive Secretary of the National Beet Grower Federation, indicating the wording he wanted for the last paragraph of the magazine's article: "It is not likely that

12. OMC, File Box 6 contains O'Mahoney's speeches and legislation during this period.

13. Colorado Democratic National Committeeman Barney Whately was behind the suggestion. O'Mahoney refused the offer, claiming that favorite sons hindered the people in making their choice of candidates and that he wanted to remain in the Senate. O'Mahoney's telegram to Whately squelching the idea is in OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

14. "The Top Men If Stevenson Wins," *U. S. News & World Report*, Volume XXXIII, August 1, 1952, pp. 31-32.

15. "Senator O'Mahoney Mentioned for High Government Post," *Mountain States Beet Grower*, Volume XV, July-August 1952, p. 6, OMC, File Box 170, FF: Campaign.

Joe O'Mahoney would surrender a seat in the United States Senate to accept another position."¹⁶

As this statement to the beet growers' magazine suggests, Senator O'Mahoney had few, if any, doubts that he would return to the Senate after the 1952 election. But by the time he began making serious plans for his campaign, his opponent had been campaigning for nearly two years. Frank A. Barrett had been elected governor of the state in 1950, and had used that position to make himself well known throughout the state. Late in 1951, reports of "spontaneous uprisings" in favor of Barrett challenging Senator O'Mahoney in 1952 began to appear in various state newspapers.¹⁷ The news of the possible candidacy of Governor Barrett did not surprise O'Mahoney and his political advisers. Barrett was the most logical Republican candidate if there was to be a real attempt to unseat O'Mahoney, and the Democrats realized that the Governor posed more of a threat than would be expected from other candidates. As Frank M. Thomas of Cheyenne wrote to O'Mahoney:

Frank Barrett has been campaigning for this election every day for the past two years. "State business" has taken him into every community of pop. 5 or more and he's missing no bets whatever.¹⁸

Governor Barrett had an impressive political record behind him, having been elected to the United States House of Representatives every two years since 1942, and then elected to the governorship in 1950. Barrett, a Lusk attorney, was one of the most vigorous and popular campaigners in Wyoming political history. As governor, he had made few enemies, with his emphasis on economy being popular throughout the state. Some of his actions had been interpreted by his opponents as being more political than administrative: he had attempted to "pack" the Board of Trustees of the University of Wyoming, and he had established numerous state boards and agencies, which his detractors saw as mere attempts to create patronage and political friends.¹⁹ But his tenure as governor had been quite successful, and he was the most popular Republican in the state.

16. Blake's letter and O'Mahoney's reply are in OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

17. See, for example, the editorial in the *Kemmerer Gazette*, April 6, 1951, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material. The similar wording of the reports of these "spontaneous" meetings suggests that they may have had a common origin—perhaps the pen of a Republican strategist.

18. Frank M. Thomas, Cheyenne, letter to O'Mahoney, June 29, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

19. For a good account of Wyoming politics during this period, see T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), Chapter 17.

After preliminary meetings as early as October, 1951, with Ewing T. Kerr, the state G. O. P. chairman, Barrett acted the part of the devoted governor, unwilling to give up the state executive mansion for a try at the U. S. Senate. All the while, the state's Republican newspapers continued to print editorials urging him to oppose O'Mahoney. Finally, in April, 1952, Barrett announced that he was bowing to public pressure to run against the senior senator.

Meanwhile, Senator O'Mahoney seemed unconcerned with the prospect of being challenged by Barrett. In late June and early July, 1952, two months after Barrett announced, several state newspapers began carrying reports that "O'Mahoney for Senator" clubs were being formed around the state to urge the Senator to run for re-election.²⁰ But not until July 7, less than four months before the election, did O'Mahoney announce his intention to run once again. He had been in Wyoming earlier in the year, but he did not return to the state for the final campaign until August 9. Even after the August 19 primary election, when Barrett polled 35,444 votes to O'Mahoney's 27,334, O'Mahoney showed no sign of pessimism about the forthcoming election:

I would judge, however, from the size of the Republican vote in the primary after an intensive organizational campaign of more than a year that our Republican friends are not quite as strong as they fondly hope. I well remember the Kendrick campaign in 1922 when Mondell made a similar vigorous pre-primary campaign in an effort to unseat Kendrick. He received some 25,000 votes plus and Kendrick had scarcely 14,000. The Republican press insisted that Kendrick was through. Came election day and Mondell still had his 25,000 plus, but Kendrick was elected.²¹

As the campaign went into full swing, it became evident that a real "battle of titans" was shaping up in the Wyoming Senate race. O'Mahoney's main strength was in the relatively Democratic cities along the Union Pacific Railroad in the southern part of the state. His success depended on the size of the turn-out of the labor vote. He had much support among the cattlemen and sheepmen, but these two groups were traditionally Republican, had supported Barrett in the past, and might not support O'Mahoney to their usual extent in 1952. Barrett and the Republicans were strongest in the rural and upstate precincts.²² Previous elections had proven the vote-getting abilities of both men. In 1946, O'Mahoney had been elected to the Senate with a 10,129 vote majority over his

20. Clippings from Wyoming newspapers describing the rise of these clubs are in OMC, Scrapbook HH, Section: State Convention, May 12, 1952.

21. O'Mahoney, letter to John W. Songer, Sheridan, September 16, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, no folder.

22. Larson, *op. cit.*, Chapter 17.

opponent. Barrett was elected to the governorship in 1950 with 12,000 more votes than his opponent. Such victories were substantial in a state where the total vote during this period was usually only about 100,000.

As the 1952 election drew near, O'Mahoney was believed to hold a slight advantage over Barrett, but it was obvious that a "campaign of anything less than championship caliber could easily lose him his Senate seat."²³ For the first time since 1934, the Republicans thought they had a chance to beat Senator O'Mahoney.

K1C2 AND STATE ISSUES

In most American elections, the party in power is held to account for the condition of the country. When there are serious domestic and foreign problems, as there were in 1952, this accounting can become a definite political burden. As a top-ranking member of the Democratic party, Senator O'Mahoney received a good deal of partisan abuse as Governor Barrett and the Republicans sought to use popular discontent as a weapon in the campaign for O'Mahoney's Senate seat.

The major national issues of the Korean War, the threat of Communism both at home and abroad, and corruption within the federal government (designated by South Dakota's Senator Karl Mundt as K1C2) were chief points in the Republican attack against O'Mahoney. In addition, the problems of inflation and the huge rise in government spending under the Democrats were utilized by O'Mahoney's opponents in the campaign. When Frank Barrett announced his intention to run against O'Mahoney, he pointed to five basic issues which he felt made it necessary for him to oppose the Senator: "Dishonesty in government, the administration's foreign policy, the Korean War, extravagance and waste in government, and centralization of power in Washington."²⁴ An editorial in the *Buffalo Bulletin* in early May reflected the importance of these issues in the G. O. P. assault on Senator O'Mahoney and the Democrats:

The time is now come when the man in the field, the mine, the shop, must face the issues and set the course of this country for four critical years. Under self-government he must answer these challenges with his ballot:

1. The threat of Communism. . . .
2. The Korean stalemate. . . .

23. CTPS News Release, Cheyenne, October 9, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

24. "Barrett Points to 5 Issues in Launching for Senate." *Wyoming State Tribune*, May 13, 1952, clipping, OMC, Scrapbook HH. Section: State Convention, May 12, 1952.

3. Prodigious government spending, the highest tax collections in history and the most worthless dollar.
4. Intrenched corruption in government.
5. Inflation. . . .
6. Socialism. . . .²⁵

A repeated Republican complaint against O'Mahoney was that he had been merely a New Deal—Fair Deal “rubber stamp” and that he was part of the Democratic “Red coddling” and corruption and bungling which had nearly lost the peace after World War II.²⁶ An example of this attack on O'Mahoney appeared in the *Pinedale Roundup* in mid September:

O'Mahoney's 18 years in the U. S. Senate, supposedly representing the people of Wyoming, has been straight down the New Deal—Fair Deal line, towards bigger government, more spending, more federal control. . . .²⁷

Even Governor Barrett's “positive” promises were related to “failures” of O'Mahoney and the Democrats: “Barrett with Eisenhower can bring a close to the needless slaughter of our youth in Korea; Barrett can restore peace with prosperity; Barrett will drive the Communists from government service; Barrett will reduce taxes.”²⁸

The nature of these national issues put Senator O'Mahoney on the defensive, which had not been his style of campaigning during the New Deal and World War years. Now he was being forced to explain rather than to attack. At the state and personal level he also had to take this stance, as the Republicans seized every opportunity to belittle his efforts for Wyoming. When the Senator's excellent seniority position was emphasized by Democratic strategists, the Republicans managed even to turn that around and use it against O'Mahoney. They charged that 19 years experience and seniority did little good when O'Mahoney did not use them to Wyoming's best advantage. Republican newspapers complained that the only time O'Mahoney ever bothered to come home to Wyoming was when he was forced to face re-election:

Along with the rustling of spring, we hear that Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney is beginning to rustle a little and that in all probability he will soon be back in Wyoming all dressed up in his best Sunday-Go-To-Vote-Getting suit.

In a way, it will be nice to see him. He doesn't get back often.

25. “Register and Vote,” *Buffalo Bulletin*, May 1, 1952, clipping, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

26. CTPS News Release, Cheyenne, October 9, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

27. “O'Mahoney the Big Shot,” *Pinedale Roundup*, September 11, 1952, clipping, OMC, Scrapbook HH, Section: Stevenson Visit 9/52.

28. Barrett campaign advertisement, *Wyoming State Tribune*, November 3, 1952, clipping, OMC, File Box 170, FF: Campaign.

He's been awfully busy being a cog among all the little New Deal—Raw Deal cogs. Every six years Senator O'Mahoney exhudes [*sic*] deep interest in his state. . . . Why? Because every six years he needs the help of the folks in Wyoming to keep him in Washington.²⁹

An article in the *Wyoming State Tribune* in 1950 had addressed itself to how Senator O'Mahoney was not keeping close touch with the people of the state. The article was motivated by the fact that O'Mahoney's predictions regarding the 1950 elections in Wyoming had been totally wrong. Suggesting that it was a dangerous sign when a man who was dependent on the people for his professional survival was unable to tell how they were thinking, the paper warned its readers that it was just two short years until O'Mahoney would again stand for re-election.³⁰

In November 1951, the Republican *Casper Tribune-Herald* blasted O'Mahoney for a speech he had delivered before the Rocky Mountain Oil and Gas Association supporting a federal government-sponsored synthetic fuel program. In his speech, O'Mahoney had asked that sectional economic and political differences be put aside to show the world that different groups in this country could work together for production. In response to this statement, the *Tribune-Herald* commented: "What the world has got to do with it, we don't know, except that *in recent years, Senator O'Mahoney has shown a good deal more interest in the world than in Wyoming.*"³¹ (Emphasis added).

O'Mahoney's political advisers were aware of the resentment caused by his too infrequent returns to Wyoming, and approached the Senator about it at various times. Tracy McCracken, the shrewd Cheyenne newspaperman, and a staunch Democrat, wrote to O'Mahoney in July 1952, mentioning the subject:

The other day when Harriman was here there were Democrats from several sections of the state. Intentionally I drew out as many as I could, and I can tell you that at least three-fourths of them said, "Joe ought to be reelected, but it is seldom if ever we get to see him any more—and if he doesn't spend practically all of his time in Wyoming from now till election he may well be beaten."³²

Two weeks later, O'Mahoney's administrative assistant, Pat

29. "It's That Time of Year," *Thermopolis Independent-Record*, April 24, 1952, clipping, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

30. "Is He Losing Touch?" *Wyoming State Tribune*, November 10, 1950, quoted in Carl Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

31. "With an Eye and an Ear to '52," *Casper Tribune-Herald*, November 16, 1951, OMC, Scrapbook FF, Section: Speeches, 1951.
election day in my opinion.³³

32. Tracy McCracken, Cheyenne, letter to O'Mahoney, July 9, 1952. L. G. Flannery Collection, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie. (Flannery Collection hereinafter referred to as LGFC.)

Flannery, wrote to him from Fort Laramie and brought up the subject of McCracken's letter:

I also read Tracy's letter with much interest, although the situation he talks about is not new—and I think not nearly as serious as it was some time ago. . . . A leisurely tour over the state . . . will make the issue that is worrying Tracy . . . a completely dead duck before election day in my opinion.³³

Probably, Flannery underestimated the harm done by O'Mahoney's long absences from Wyoming. As late as mid-September, state Democrats were trying to warn O'Mahoney that the problem was really hurting his prospects for re-election.³⁴ In a campaign rebuttal of this accusation, O'Mahoney stressed the pressures of committee assignments in Washington and the necessity of staying in the capital to vote on important legislation. But these explanations, coming in late 1952, did little to alleviate the feeling in the state that he had not been home enough in the past years.

In earlier elections, O'Mahoney had been able to benefit from the general popularity of the Democratic Party. When the Democrats came into power in 1933, they had the opportunity to chastise the Republicans for failing to correct the rapidly declining economic situation. Twenty years later, circumstances were reversed, and the Democrats found themselves under attack from various segments of the economy. In Wyoming, several powerful special interest groups held grudges against the administration. Agriculture in general was not faring well. When the Senate Appropriations Committee cut \$200,000,000 out of the \$931,000,000 budget for agriculture for 1953, farmers across Wyoming and the nation were naturally upset.³⁵ The farmer was doing poorly as compared to earlier years. The number of acres planted in potatoes in Wyoming, for instance, showed a drastic decrease in the years preceding 1952, and not all of the harvest could be sold.³⁶ The market for beans, another important Wyoming product, was also badly reduced. A beangrower from Greybull, Mrs. Lucille Wiley, wrote to Senator O'Mahoney in September 1952, explaining the problem:

The farmers are most unhappy about bean conditions and bean prices and want to know what is going to happen. . . . Bean prices are \$7.25—when and if they can sell—much lower than the cost of grow-

33. Pat Flannery, Fort Laramie, letter to O'Mahoney, July 24, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

34. George C. McCormick, Thermopolis, letter to O'Mahoney, September 10, 1952, OMC, File Box 170, FF: Campaign.

35. Material on this budget cut is in OMC, File Box 163, FF: June 3, 1952 O'Mahoney—"Senate Makes Substantial Cuts in Agriculture Appropriations Bill."

36. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of Agriculture*, Volume I, Part 29, p. 55. Acreage dropped from 12,537 acres in 1944 to 6964 in 1949.

ing can stand. . . . I'm holding two crops of beans in storage in Basin, because I couldn't sell them.³⁷

The cattle industry, one of Wyoming's most influential economic and political forces, was not suffering as badly as were some agricultural pursuits. From 1945 to 1950 there had been a general increase in the number of cattle in the state (982,664 to 1,027,723), but several counties had seen decreases rather than increases.³⁸ The stockmen in these counties, who were generally Republican, might be expected to be antagonistic toward existing conditions, and might not hesitate to support Barrett.

The plight of Wyoming's other principal agricultural industry, wool growing, was especially serious in 1952. From 1945 to 1950, the number of sheep in Wyoming had decreased by 34 percent.³⁹ Only two counties, Sweetwater and Uinta, showed an increase during this period. This "wool crisis" was nationwide in scope, and was mixed up with both domestic and foreign policies of the Truman administration. The O'Mahoney-Hatch Amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1949 had called for government support of domestic wool prices at a rate of 60 to 90 percent of parity price. The Commodity Credit Corporation had been keeping up the wool price by direct purchase of wool, but in 1952 a new policy was established whereby the price would be held up by a program of loans to wool producers.⁴⁰ Wool interests opposed this change for several reasons. First of all, a loan was not nearly as desirable as direct purchase. Also, the new policy stipulated that the loan could go only to the person holding title to the wool, which greatly complicated and hindered the wool-growers' legal and financial transactions.

To further complicate matters, the United States was producing domestically only about 150 million pounds of wool per year, while the country consumed about 600 million pounds. Foreign producers, especially Australia, Argentina and Uruguay supplied the difference. In 1951, just as the Korean War increased America's need for wool (for army uniforms), the Russian government began a program of buying wool above the international market price,

37. Lucille Wiley, Greybull, letter to O'Mahoney, September 20, 1952, OMC, File Box 170, FF: Campaign.

38. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of Agriculture, op. cit.*, pp. 46-47. The counties showing a decrease were Big Horn, Campbell, Crook, Johnson, Laramie, Lincoln, Park, Sheridan, Sublette, Sweetwater, Teton, Washakie and Weston.

39. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of Agriculture, op. cit.*, pp. 46-47. The decrease was from 2,803,643 to 1,828,838.

40. Release from the Department of Agriculture, February 20, 1952, OMC, File Box 163, FF: "Wool Price Support Program to Operate through Loans in 1952".

thus driving prices far above their normal levels and creating a wool shortage. The woolgrowers in the United States, who had always opposed the practice of importing foreign wool, were now faced with the unique threat of government-sponsored experiments with synthetic material as an attempt to counter the wool scarcity.⁴¹

This peculiar situation posed a real political threat for Senator O'Mahoney. The influential wool-growing interests of Wyoming wanted to see neither continued importation nor government subsidization of "wool substitutes." O'Mahoney's dilemma was that he had to support continued importation to prevent experimentation, or vice versa. Also, O'Mahoney, who was rather a "hawk" on the Korean War, was on the Senate Army Appropriations Committee, and was thereby partly responsible for providing the army with suitable clothing. When faced with a serious crisis, such as the one facing the wool-growers, people do not tend to see the limitations on the actions of those to whom they look for guidance. The wool-growers were no different; and any action Senator O'Mahoney took was sure to cause some discontent among this extremely important political element in Wyoming.

An equally complex and politically dangerous situation existed within one of Wyoming's leading non-agricultural industries. Several questions were tied up in what could be called the "oil issue" which turned out to be so important in 1952. First of all, there was some doubt, at least in many Republican minds, as to whether or not Senator O'Mahoney had faithfully served the oil industry while in the Senate. When O'Mahoney pointed with pride to the O'Mahoney-Hatch Act of 1949 as an example of his attempts to support natural resource development, the G. O. P. claimed that this act was at least 14 years too late, and pointed in turn to the O'Mahoney Act of 1935 as an example of the harm O'Mahoney had done to the industry.⁴²

A second aspect of the "oil issue" was the so-called "tidelands" question. During the Second World War, President Truman had decided that it was in the nation's best interest to claim the lands and resources of the continental shelf which lay outside the three-mile limit generally observed in international law. Truman's action set off a lengthy controversy, as the states most directly involved, California, Texas and Louisiana, vehemently opposed federal control of the area. Supposedly, the conflict was judicially determined when on June 23, 1947, in the California case, and on

41. OMC, File Box 6 contains several file folders on this wool crisis.

42. OMC, Scrapbook HH, Section: Oil Issue. The O'Mahoney Act of 1935 called for royalties up to thirty-two percent. OMC, File Box 163, FF: Jan. 21, 1952 "Wyoming Expected to receive six million dollars in oil royalties says Sen O'Mahoney." The O'Mahoney-Hatch Act of 1949 provided more money to states with Federal, Indian and Naval Reserve lands.

June 5, 1950, in the Texas and Louisiana cases, the United States Supreme Court held that the United States had paramount authority over submerged lands off the coasts of these states.⁴³ This decision, however, did little to end the dispute. Congress tried to overrule the Court by passing a law giving the area in question to the states. This was promptly vetoed by President Truman. While Congress debated over what to do about the veto, Senator O'Mahoney and Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico proposed a compromise measure to allow for continued development of the area's resources during the controversy. On the veto itself, O'Mahoney sided with the President in deciding that the submerged lands, which were seaward of the three-mile limit, properly belonged to the federal government, and not to the states. Many people in Wyoming, a state with vast natural resources, saw the tidelands issue as a good chance to gain for the states needed revenue, and to re-emphasize the role of the state within the federal system. When the national Republican platform in 1952 pledged itself to "restore the tidelands and their resources" to the states involved, the question had become a full-blown political issue.

A third element of the oil-related issues in Wyoming in 1952 was the controversy over the Casper Federal Land Office. In 1949-1950, the federal government initiated a program of consolidating the numerous land offices in the West, leaving only one office in each state. Senator O'Mahoney had opposed this action, but his opposition had not succeeded in preventing completion of the program. When the new consolidated land office for Wyoming was located in Cheyenne, rather than in Casper, where most of the business had previously been transacted, Casper and Central Wyoming blamed O'Mahoney. A Casper newspaper, in a rather bitter article in September, 1951, voiced the opinion that O'Mahoney had failed to do anything about the removal of Casper's land office facilities to Cheyenne because of his political relations with southern Wyoming and the generally Democratic "Union Pacific" counties.⁴⁴

In an indirect way, a decades-old oil-related issue, that of a severance tax on crude oil taken out of the state, also had some importance in the 1952 election. The roots of the issue were in the 1950 gubernatorial election. At that time, the expected Democratic candidate had been William "Scotty" Jack. But in February, 1950, Jack disgusted the Democrats by accepting a \$12,000 a year position as the executive vice president in charge of public

43. The information on this controversy is in OMC, File Box 155, FF: *January 18, 1951* Release by JCO'M On Submerged oil lands resolution.

44. "What Has He Done For Us Lately?" *Casper Morning Star*, September 11, 1951, clipping, OMC, Scrapbook FF, Section: Politics Local—1951.

relations for the Rocky Mountain Oil and Gas Association. This move gained more significance when it became clear that one of the major issues of the campaign would be the question of a state severance tax. Former Congressman John J. McIntyre, the eventual Democratic candidate for governor, came out in favor of the tax. The Republican candidate, Congressman Frank A. Barrett, "stepped aside and permitted the oil industry to smite McIntyre hip and thigh."⁴⁵

For the 1952 Senate election, the fact that McIntyre had become anathema to the oil industry was not as important as the fact that Frank Barrett had thereby gained the support of the influential industry. In conjunction with the numerous other oil-related political issues in 1952, this positive attitude toward Governor Barrett on the part of the oil interests certainly did not help Senator O'Mahoney in his attempt at re-election, and it obviously gave Barrett one more advantage in the contest.

One other issue was also of major importance in the 1952 Wyoming Senate election. Like the tidelands controversy, it was based on the opposition of many Wyomingites to a stand the Senator had made on a national question. After World War II, the United States government had purchased the Santa Margarita Ranch in California to build a Marine training center (Camp Pendleton). With this purchase, the government acquired the water rights which had belonged to the ranch. The Fallbrook Utility Company, which had interest in the area involved, tried to keep the United States from securing the water. The U. S. Department of Justice brought suit in district court to try to determine the water rights, and the Fallbrook Utility Company retaliated by trying to get Congress to take the case away from the courts. A bill to that effect passed the House, and was referred to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular affairs, of which O'Mahoney was chairman. During the committee hearings, Senator O'Mahoney sided with the federal government.⁴⁶ This position, along with his position in the tidelands question, appeared to many people to be antagonistic to the rights of the states and the rights of individuals, and seemed to be just another example of New Dealish centralizing.

This conglomeration of national, state and personal issues, then, faced the two candidates for Wyoming's contested Senate seat as they prepared to begin campaigning in earnest. The nature of the issues put Governor Barrett on the offensive and Senator O'Mahoney on the defensive. Throughout their respective cam-

45. Larson, *op. cit.*, p. 514.

46. For a brief analysis of this issue, and O'Mahoney's position concerning it, see O'Mahoney's letter to Mrs. Charles Jarrard, Kaycee, October 24, 1952, OMC, File Box 170, FF: Campaign.

paigns, both men returned, sometimes by choice and sometimes not, to these central issues.

THE CAMPAIGN: OMEN OF DEFEAT

Governor Barrett and the Republicans knew that there were many issues they could "take to the people" in their attempt to unseat Senator O'Mahoney, and they exploited as many of those issues as possible. Continuously, they harped on the theme that O'Mahoney's seniority did little for Wyoming since he did not effectively utilize it. E. D. "Ted" Crippa, Republican State Committeeman from Rock Springs, suggested in April, 1951, for instance, that the Senator's seniority had failed to get any defense projects for Wyoming.⁴⁷ Governor Barrett asked why O'Mahoney's seniority had not been used to prevent "meddlesome New Deal-ish" price controls from ruining the condition of agriculture.⁴⁸ Republican newspaper advertisements repeatedly referred to "O'Mahoney's Failure" to do anything about Korea, corruption in government, the Communist threat, high taxes and so on.⁴⁹ Two motion pictures, "The Fallbrook Story," and "Freedom's Shores" were circulated around the state to demonstrate O'Mahoney's "failures." In the first movie, he was castigated for using his position as chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to "bottle up" legislation which would have solved the water rights controversy in favor of the local interests; in the second movie, he was attacked for his position on the tidelands issue. The Republicans tried to make O'Mahoney's stands on these issues appear as threats to fundamental individual and state rights. In one partisan speech, for example, the state's Republican attorney general said that:

The ranches, farms, indeed, the very homes and livelihood of Wyoming's people have been placed in jeopardy by O'Mahoney. . . . Federal bureaucrats have not—as far as the public knows—seized private properties of Wyoming's ranchers and farmers, [but] the "handwriting is on the wall" as evidenced by the taking of the tidelands and the seizing of private properties under a New Deal-coated supreme court decision.⁵⁰

47. OMC, Scrapbook FF, Section: Politics Local—1951. Between April 8 and April 13, 1951, Crippa's statement was printed in several newspapers, including the *Rock Springs Rocket*, the *Casper Tribune-Herald*, the *Thermopolis Independent Record* and others.

48. *Casper Tribune-Herald*, October 17, 1952, clipping, OMC, File Box 167, FF: Clippings.

49. See, for example, the G. O. P. advertisement in the *Torrington Telegram*, October 13, 1952, clipping, OMC, Scrapbook HH, Section: McCarthy 10/13/52.

50. "Harnsberger Lashes at O'Mahoney," *Wyoming State Tribune*, March 30, 1952, clipping, OMC, Scrapbook HH, Section: Fav. Son—V.P.—52.

Senator O'Mahoney tried to counter this kind of attack by issuing statements clarifying his position on the tidelands and by repeating his belief that, since the states historically had never held any right to the areas in question, they could not now claim that right.⁵¹ But this position was not well accepted in Wyoming and these issues remained important in the campaign.

Another issue which the G. O. P. successfully exploited was the intra-state squabble over the consolidation of the federal land offices in the state. Whenever the Senator visited Casper during the campaign, the Republicans made a point of running advertisements in the local newspapers, re-emphasizing the failure of O'Mahoney to prevent the removal of Casper's office.⁵² O'Mahoney tried to alleviate the pressures of this issue by publicizing in February, 1952, a letter he had written to Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman requesting reconsideration of the consolidation. But nothing came of this letter, and when the Casper Chamber of Commerce polled all major state candidates as to whether they favored return of the office to Casper, the Senator could only respond that the question would have to wait until a hearing could determine the best site.⁵³

Even more damaging to O'Mahoney than the land office fight, which caused extremely hard feelings only in Casper, was the bad condition of the sheep industry. O'Mahoney, who had been called "Mr. Wool" in the past, could not escape the consequences of the public's opinion that President Truman and the Democrats were responsible for the wool industry's crisis. Playing on this general attitude, the Republicans used the state's newspapers as a forum from which to blame O'Mahoney for the sheepmen's problems.⁵⁴ Specifically, they pointed to such Democratic measures as reciprocal trade agreements, which tended to bring more foreign wool into the United States, reduced grazing lands, and the State Department's failure to apply countervailing duties on imported wool.

51. This point, as to whether or not the states had ever had legal claim to the area, was the central question in the controversy. O'Mahoney, and the Supreme Court, said "no;" while most state government officials, most Republicans and many Democrats said "yes." For O'Mahoney's position, see LGFC, File Box 1, FF: Political Material—Miscellaneous 1937-1953. For the opposing viewpoint, see Raymond Moley, "The Tidelands Issue," *Newsweek*, Volume XL, September 15, 1952, p. 108.

52. Mrs. Velma Funda, Casper, letter to Pat Flannery, March 31, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

53. OMC, Scrapbook HH, Section: Land Office.

54. Examples of this G. O. P. newspaper campaign are Harold Josendal, "An Open Letter to the Wool Growers of Wyoming," *Casper Tribune-Herald*, October 5, 1952, clipping, OMC, File Box 169, no folder, and Mrs. Dan Kirkbride's statement which appeared in several Wyoming newspapers during August, 1952. Clippings of her statement are in OMC, Scrapbook HH, Section: Wool Issue.

As with other issues, O'Mahoney's office issued statement after statement in an attempt to show that the Senator was doing the best he could for the sheep industry. In January, 1952, an O'Mahoney press release stated that he was urging the Department of Agriculture to begin a more advanced program of price supports for wool.⁵⁵ Eight months later, his office reported that President Truman had ordered an investigation into the importation of wool from Argentina and Uruguay, with the intention of adding new duties to wool imports.⁵⁶ These statements, however, were not enough to convince the sheepmen to give their support to O'Mahoney, and as a *Casper Tribune-Herald* writer put it, "the ears of 'Mr. Wool' must have burned" when he heard that the Wyoming Wool Growers Association decided that, as individuals, members should support Eisenhower, Barrett and Harrison (the Republican candidate for the U. S. House of Representatives).⁵⁷ The wool crisis had proven too powerful to allow the sheepmen, generally Republican in most cases, to vote for Senator O'Mahoney.

These issues, along with the general frustration caused by national problems, put Governor Barrett and his party in a favorable position for the election. But Senator O'Mahoney did not go into the campaign unarmed. His able administrative assistant, L. G. "Pat" Flannery, was well versed in Wyoming politics, and took care of most of the details of the campaign. The Senator also had the support of the state's leading newspaperman, Cheyenne's Tracy McCracken. Wyoming's labor unions, as usual, endorsed the Senator. Former Governor Leslie A. Miller, at the instigation of Pat Flannery, wrote a letter in August, 1952, to John F. Sullivan of Laramie, giving the reasons he thought O'Mahoney should be returned to the Senate. This letter was then given to the press, and Miller's endorsement was publicized.⁵⁸ The same tactic was also used later, when John W. McCormack wrote O'Mahoney from Washington, asking how he could help the campaign. O'Mahoney

55. Press Release, OMC, File Box 163, FF: Jan 31, 1952 O'Mahoney Urges Program to Stimulate Wool Production.

56. "Probe Ordered Into Wool Imports," *Rock Springs Daily Rocket*, September 4, 1952, clipping, OMC, File Box 167, FF: Campaign. In this instance, at least, Senator O'Mahoney evidently had some influence with the administration. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Republican from Massachusetts, complained that Truman's proposal to put a fifty percent fee on raw wool imports, a proposal which came out of O'Mahoney's suggested investigation, would kill the New England textile industry. Lodge further complained that the fee was a mere political trick designed to save O'Mahoney. Several letters and newspaper clippings dealing with this issue are in OMC, File Box 170, FF: Campaign.

57. "Wool Growers Want a Change," *Casper Tribune-Herald*, September 25, 1952, clipping, OMC, File Box 167, FF: Clippings.

58. Miller's letter, which was written by O'Mahoney's staff, is in OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

had McCormack make available to the Wyoming press a statement that the current piece of legislation in the House reimbursing the Indians of the Wind River Reservation for lands lost to the new Boysen Reservoir was due directly to the personal influence of the senior Senator from Wyoming.⁵⁹

O'Mahoney's counterattack for the charge that he neglected Wyoming while in the Senate was to question the ability of Governor Barrett to carry out the duties of the chief executive of the state while engaging in a two-year campaign for the U. S. Senate. In April, 1952, an article in the *Laramie Daily Bulletin* took the Governor to task for using his position as governor as a campaign forum:

There is no law compelling one to serve as governor more than a few months before anxiously eyeing the United States Senate. Up and down and across the state and back, the governor has constantly traveled from almost the day he assumed office a little more than a year ago, causing many to be amazed at how the gentleman can be away on the knife and fork circuit so great an amount of time and still cope with the multitudinous problems that must even to this day daily manifest themselves in the office of a chief executive of a sovereign state.⁶⁰

Another mark against Barrett, at least to one group of Wyomingites, was the fact that he, a Catholic, was trying to unseat O'Mahoney, another Catholic. A Thermopolis attorney, Gerald A. Stack, wrote to Senator O'Mahoney in October, 1952, to tell him of this complaint against Barrett, and also suggested that "the Masons pushed Barrett's candidacy for the main reason of getting rid of at least one Catholic office holder."⁶¹ O'Mahoney tried to capitalize on this apparent Catholic displeasure with Barrett by having Mrs. O'Mahoney write a form letter to be sent around the state, commenting on the rumors of Catholic concern with the attempt by Barrett to defeat a member of his own faith.⁶²

Financially O'Mahoney was well enough off for the campaign, although as usual Wyoming's Republicans were at an advantage monetarily. According to his official filing receipts, the Senator received a total of \$26,855 in contributions, while his expenses amounted to only \$21,539.⁶³ But the total amount of the contributions to O'Mahoney's campaign does not reflect accurately the extent of support available to him in Wyoming. As his filing

59. The correspondence between McCormack and O'Mahoney is in OMC, File Box 170, FF: Campaign.

60. Editorial from the *Laramie Daily Bulletin*, April 25, 1952, clipping, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

61. Gerald A. Stack, Thermopolis, letter to O'Mahoney, October 25, 1952, OMC, File Box 170, FF: Campaign.

62. Mrs. O'Mahoney's letter is in OMC, File Box 169, no folder.

63. OMC, File Box 9, FF: Campaign Receipts & Expenditures Report—1952—Filing Receipt.

receipts show, only \$6430 of the total \$26,855 came from inside Wyoming; \$20,075 came from outside the state. A handful of political and labor organizations, plus a few wealthy friends from outside Wyoming, contributed \$11,300, or over one-third of the total, to the Senator's campaign.⁶⁴ Of the in-state receipts, well over half came from O'Mahoney's home town, Cheyenne.

According to a Drew Pearson radio broadcast, Governor Barrett also had his share of financial support from outside the state. On September 28, 1952, Pearson commented about the Wyoming campaign during his Sunday evening program: "The duPonts are pouring money into Wyoming to defeat Senator Joe O'Mahoney. They are sore at O'Mahoney for blocking special tax write-offs for the duPont factories making synthetics."⁶⁵ Pearson's statement had reference to O'Mahoney's retort, as chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report, that if the government ever decided to give special tax deductions to synthetic fiber producers, he knew of "no company that needs Government incentives less than Du Pont."⁶⁶

Pearson's broadcast caused quite a squabble in Wyoming during October, and turned into an issue itself. Republican State Chairman Ewing T. Kerr immediately denied that Barrett received any financial assistance from the duPont company. But Tracy McCracken's *Wyoming Eagle* professed a belief that the story was undoubtedly true. Finally, Harold Brayman, the director of the duPont company public relations department, wrote to Kerr, the *Eagle* and Senator O'Mahoney categorically denying that any duPont money was being used in the Wyoming campaign—not only was such a contribution illegal, it was against company policy!⁶⁷

While the state's newspapers were saturating the public with political advertisements and partisan editorials, and the candidates' offices were supplying statements calculated to gain support on favorable issues and to minimize the attention paid to unfavorable ones, Barrett and O'Mahoney themselves were traveling up and

64. O'Mahoney's filing receipt shows the following contributions: John D. Clark, Washington, D. C., \$2000; Robert Palmer, Denver, \$1000; Democratic Campaign Fund Committee, \$2850; Democratic National Committee, \$700; Congress of Industrial Organizations—Political Action Committee, \$2000; Labor's League for Political Action, \$1000; National Committee for an Effective Congress, \$1000; and Amalgamated Political Action Fund, \$750.

65. Excerpt from Drew Pearson radio broadcast, OMC, File Box 169, no folder.

66. OMC, File Box 155, FF: *July 13, 1951*: "Senator Sees No Need For Amortization Aid to Dupont Synthetics."

67. Harold Brayman, letter to O'Mahoney, October 21, 1952, OMC, File Box 170, FF: Campaign; and OMC, Scrapbook HH, Section: Du Pont Money 10/3/52.

down the state. Both men made a point of appearing in every county at least once, paying special heed to the more populous counties. Neither spent much time in the smaller counties with fewer voters. O'Mahoney's itinerary was carefully drawn up by Pat Flannery, and Raymond B. Whitaker, the Democratic state chairman, provided O'Mahoney with a detailed analysis of what he considered the areas and counties needing special attention.⁶⁸

Barrett and O'Mahoney approached campaigning somewhat differently. Barrett, who had a great deal of personal appeal, stumped the state, shaking everyone's hand and speaking to anyone who would listen. O'Mahoney, on the other hand, tried to exploit his power of persuasive rhetoric by making more formal speeches before groups meeting especially to hear him speak. Perhaps the age difference between the two men (O'Mahoney was 68; Barrett only 59) made this difference in style necessary; but for whatever reason, the difference was a mark in Barrett's favor, as his style of campaigning was better suited to Wyoming voters in general, and to the particular need in 1952 to influence as many people as possible.

Joseph C. O'Mahoney was an expert politician by 1952. But all his years of experience could not prevent his campaign from having the appearance of a "comic opera" at times. It was almost as if his political "luck" had run out. In October 1951, for instance, Pat Flannery, O'Mahoney's main connection with Wyoming, was preparing to meet with the state party leaders to choose a new state chairman. Just at that time, Flannery broke a toe, had to have it surgically removed, and the consequent hospitalization kept him from participating personally in the Democratic gathering.

A somewhat similar experience kept O'Mahoney from attending the 1952 Democratic National Convention, and slowed down the early preparations for his campaign. In July, 1952, he entered Bethesda Hospital for a hernia operation. The operation was successful and there were no complications (which was fortunate, in view of O'Mahoney's age), but the Senator's departure for Wyoming was delayed by several weeks.

In keeping with this tragic-comic pattern, the Democratic presidential candidate, Adlai E. Stevenson, managed to fall far short of his expected performance when he spoke in Wyoming in September. Stevenson's headquarters had written to Senator

68. Raymond B. Whitaker, Casper, letter to O'Mahoney, August 19, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material. Whitaker suggested concentrated effort in the following order of importance: Union Pacific area, central Wyoming, and the Big Horn Basin; or, by counties, Laramie, Sweetwater, Natrona, Carbon, Fremont, Albany, Park, Goshen and Sheridan. Whitaker suggested concentrating on these counties on the basis of a study of past elections, most important issues in each county, and numbers of voters.

O'Mahoney, requesting suggestions as to what Stevens should stress in his Wyoming speech. The Senator had supplied a short list of constructive proposals for resource development in the West. But when Stevenson arrived at the auditorium in Cheyenne where he was to deliver his speech, he discovered that he had left his notes on his airplane. According to a *Time* reporter who was traveling with Stevenson, "In five minutes, the governor [Stevenson] hastily scribbled down an outline, oblivious to the throng of onlookers."⁶⁹ The result was a rather unimpressive speech describing Stevenson's boyhood visit to Wyoming.

Vice President Alben W. Barkley also spoke in Wyoming in favor of Senator O'Mahoney, and his speech did less, if possible, than Stevenson's, to impress the people of Wyoming with the need to keep O'Mahoney in the U. S. Senate. The major point of Barkley's speech was that O'Mahoney was a "national figure, a national statesman." Declaring that the Democrats would stand on the record of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, Barkley concluded his Jefferson-Jackson Day keynote address by praising the fine work O'Mahoney did in Washington.⁷⁰ These "compliments," of course, were not apt to be well received in Wyoming, where O'Mahoney was specifically being attacked for being too much of a "national figure" and a "New Deal cog." Commenting on Barkley's speech, the *Casper Tribune-Herald* reflected the general Wyoming reaction to this old New Deal rhetoric:

Vice President Barkley obviously visited Casper for Senator O'Mahoney's political health and not to pay tribute to Thomas Jefferson, who would find little recognizable in present-day Democracy. . . . A 20-year-old administration that goes back 30 years for a political whipping boy is devoid of a sense of reality. Today's war and strangling taxation are products of Truman, not Harding.⁷¹

The tone of Senator O'Mahoney's campaign was set by this series of accidents and political *faux pas*. With the general feeling that it was "time for a change" prevalent in Wyoming and across the nation, O'Mahoney could not afford to run a relatively second-rate campaign. But from the very beginning, he had failed to really grasp the seriousness of the Barrett threat. He shrugged off the large Republican vote in the primary election. He waited to begin preparations for his campaign until he was prompted by Flannery, McCracken, Whitaker and other state Democratic leaders. He failed to recognize that he could not atone for his neglect

69. "The Way West," *Time*, Volume LX, September 15, 1952, p. 24. O'Mahoney's suggestions for Stevenson's speech are in a letter to Mr. Philip Stern, Springfield, Illinois, September 2, 1952, OMC, File Box 170, FF: Campaign.

70. Barkley speech, OMC, Scrapbook HH, Section: Barkley Visit 52.

71. "More Than Tub-Thumping," *Casper Tribune-Herald*, March 26, 1952, clipping, OMC, Scrapbook HH, Section: Barkley Visit 52.

(whether real or imagined) of Wyoming by a few statements in late 1952. And in addition, many of his stands on major issues ran contrary to the opinions of a majority of Wyomingites.

As the election approached, it was evident that O'Mahoney was in real political trouble. His own "Wyoming Tru-Poll Committee" estimated that he would receive only 37 percent of the vote. In late summer, a poll taken by the Wyoming Press Association showed that of 17 replies received from state newspapers, 14 favored Barrett, only three favored O'Mahoney. On October 30, less than a week before the election, the *Riverton Review* predicted that Barrett was definitely leading the Senator in 20 of the state's 23 counties.⁷² Even one of O'Mahoney's secretaries admitted, in a personal letter in late October, that the Senator's chances for re-election were not good.⁷³

Unfortunately for Senator O'Mahoney, these predictions were quite accurate. Governor Barrett carried 16 of the 23 Wyoming counties and defeated O'Mahoney by 4255 votes. General Eisenhower overwhelmed Governor Stevenson in Wyoming, winning by a 33,113 vote margin. Robert R. Rose, Jr., the Democratic candidate for the House of Representatives, lost to his Republican opponent, the incumbent Congressman William Henry Harrison, by 25,602 votes.⁷⁴ All Senator O'Mahoney could claim was that he had done the best of the losers.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE VOTE

Joseph C. O'Mahoney lost his U. S. Senate Seat in 1952 by only 4255 votes. Before any qualitative judgments can be made as to the "why" of the defeat, a quantitative assessment of the vote is necessary. As Table 1 illustrates, Governor Barrett carried 16 counties compared to the seven carried by O'Mahoney. Geographically, the election followed normal trends—the Republican Barrett carried the northern and central sections of the state, while the Democratic O'Mahoney carried the southern or "Union Pa-

72. The Final Tru-Poll report is in LGFC, File Box 2, FF: Election Material, 1952. The results of the Wyoming Press Association poll are in OMC, Scrapbook HH, Section: O'M Files, July 7. The *Riverton Review* predictions are in OMC, Scrapbook HH, Section: Teacher Support.

73. Eugene O'Dunne, Jr., Washington, D. C., letter to Miss Mary Mahan, Cheyenne, October 29, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, no folder. O'Dunne is replying to a letter from Miss Mahan, one of Senator O'Mahoney's secretaries. The wording of O'Dunne's letter suggests that Miss Mahan confided to him a secret belief that the Senator would lose the election.

74. The official vote tallies can be found in *1953 Wyoming Official Directory and 1952 Election Returns*, compiled by the Secretary of State, Cheyenne, 1953, p. 57. The votes were:

Eisenhower	81,047	Barrett	67,176	Harrison	76,161
Stevenson	47,934	O'Mahoney	62,921	Rose	50,559

cific" area. O'Mahoney's best showing was in staunchly Democratic Sweetwater County, where he bested Barrett by 3795 votes. His worst showing was in Natrona County, where he lost to Barrett by 2272 votes.

A University of Wyoming professor of Political Science, John B. Richard, has classified Wyoming's counties according to their tendency to favor one political party over the other.⁷⁵ Richard used SR (Strong Republican) and SD (Strong Democratic) to indicate strong party identification, MR (Moderate Republican)

Table 1
1952 Wyoming Senate Election⁷⁶

County	O'Mahoney	Barrett	Margin	Carried By
Albany	4500	3155	1345	O'Mahoney
Big Horn	2371	3217	— 846	Barrett
Campbell	870	1624	— 754	Barrett
Carbon	4159	2659	1500	O'Mahoney
Converse	1127	1775	— 648	Barrett
Crook	685	1509	— 824	Barrett
Fremont	3057	5173	—2116	Barrett
Goshen	2168	2971	— 803	Barrett
Hot Springs	1094	1360	— 266	Barrett
Johnson	752	1772	—1020	Barrett
Laramie	11625	7872	3753	O'Mahoney
Lincoln	2082	2022	60	O'Mahoney
Natrona	7189	9461	—2272	Barrett
Niobrara	1022	1250	— 228	Barrett
Park	2830	4263	—1433	Barrett
Platte	1867	1800	67	O'Mahoney
Sheridan	3862	5676	—1814	Barrett
Sublette	529	826	— 297	Barrett
Sweetwater	6598	2803	3795	O'Mahoney
Teton	478	983	— 505	Barrett
Uinta	1801	1447	354	O'Mahoney
Washakie	1085	1971	— 886	Barrett
Weston	1170	1587	— 417	Barrett
Total	62921	67176	—4255	Barrett

and MD (Moderate Democratic) to indicate relatively strong party identification, and LR (Leaning Republican) and LD (Leaning Democratic) to indicate weak but present party identification. As

75. John B. Richard, *Government and Politics of Wyoming* (Dubuque, Iowa: W. C. Brown Book Company, 1966), p. 25.

76. The data is from 1953 *Wyoming Official Directory and 1952 Election Returns*, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

Table 2
Analysis of the 1952 Wyoming Senate Election by Counties⁷⁷

County	O'Mahoney's Vote Margin	Average % from Previous Elections		Richard's Evaluation	% of Vote in 1952		Followed Pattern in 1952?
		O'Mahoney	Barrett		O'M.	Bar.	
Natrona	—2272	58%	54%	MR	43%	57%	No
Fremont	—2116	51	63	SR	37	63	Yes
Sheridan	—1814	57	52	MR	40	60	No
Park	—1433	51	60	SR	40	60	Yes
Johnson	—1020	42	72	SR	29	71	Yes
Washakie	— 886	56	62	SR	35	65	Yes
Big Horn	— 846	57	56	MR	42	58	No
Crook	— 824	51	65	SR	31	69	Yes
Goshen	— 803	49	63	SR	42	58	Yes

77. The data is from *Wyoming Official Directory and Election Returns*, 1935, 1941, 1943, 1945, 1947, 1949, 1951 and 1953. The three previous Senate elections in which O'Mahoney ran and the four Congressional elections and one gubernatorial election in which Barrett ran may not be completely comparable, but they do provide a good index to the political strength of the two men.

Table 2—Continued
Analysis of the 1952 Wyoming Senate Election by Counties

County	O'Mahoney's Vote Margin	Average % from Previous Elections		Richard's Evaluation	% of Vote in 1952		Followed Pattern in 1952?
		O'Mahoney	Barrett		O'M.	Bar.	
Campbell	— 754	52%	64%	SR	34%	66%	Yes
Converse	— 648	49	65	SR	37	63	Yes
Teton	— 505	51	63	SR	32	68	Yes
Weston	— 417	52	61	SR	40	60	Yes
Sublette	— 297	50	61	SR	38	62	Yes
Hot Springs	— 266	64	52	MR	44	56	No
Niobrara	— 228	45	71	SR	43	57	Yes
Lincoln	60	55	50	LR	50	50	Yes
Platte	67	55	54	LR	51	49	Yes
Uinta	354	61	48	LD	56	44	Yes
Albany	1345	62	51	LD	60	40	Yes
Carbon	1500	58	44	MD	61	39	Yes
Laramie	3753	58	50	LD	59	41	Yes
Sweetwater	3795	69	33	SD	70	30	Yes

can be seen in Table 2, 12 counties which Richard classified as SR, and which had consistently given Barrett a higher percentage of their vote than they had given O'Mahoney, were carried by Barrett in 1952.⁷⁸ These counties were Campbell, Converse, Crook, Fremont, Goshen, Johnson, Niobrara, Park, Sublette, Teton, Washakie and Weston. O'Mahoney had won all of these counties except Johnson and Niobrara at least once in the past, but they could all have been expected to go to Barrett in 1952.

Five counties — Albany, Carbon, Laramie, Sweetwater and Uinta—formed the core of O'Mahoney's Democratic bloc of votes. The Senator had never failed to win in any of the five counties. Governor Barrett, on the other hand, had a miserable combined record of only seven wins in 25 tries in the counties. O'Mahoney had consistently averaged close to 60 percent of the vote in each of the five counties, while Barrett had averaged less than 50 percent. Professor Richard ranked them all as Democratic to one degree or another. None of these counties could have been expected to break this pattern in 1952.

Two counties, Lincoln and Platte, which normally split their votes fairly evenly between the two parties, continued to follow this pattern in 1952. Lincoln County is classified by Richard as LR in national elections, but had never failed to give its vote to Senator O'Mahoney. Governor Barrett had won Lincoln County three of five times, and had a slightly lower average percent of the vote in the county than O'Mahoney had. O'Mahoney carried Lincoln County again in 1952, but Barrett's challenge in a generally Republican year brought this margin of victory down to 60 votes.

In Platte County, which Professor Richard also labels LR, the records of Barrett and O'Mahoney were even closer than in Lincoln County. O'Mahoney had won in Platte County every time he ran, averaging 55 percent of the vote. Barrett had also carried the county in each of his election bids, averaging 54 percent of the vote. As in Lincoln County, O'Mahoney barely edged Barrett in Platte, winning by 67 votes. Neither county was of great significance to the final outcome of the election.

A total of 19 of Wyoming's 23 counties, then, followed typical voting patterns in the Senatorial election of 1952. The remaining four counties—Big Horn, Hot Springs, Natrona and Sheridan—showed unusual voting results to one degree or another. Big Horn County, for instance, had given Senator O'Mahoney 57 percent of its vote in all of his previous races for the Senate. But Barrett had also carried Big Horn County each time he ran for office, and

78. The statistics are in *Wyoming Official Directory and Election Returns*, op. cit.

had averaged 56 percent of the vote—only one percent less than O'Mahoney. Big Horn County is a moderately Republican county and might be expected to favor Governor Barrett slightly over Senator O'Mahoney. But while O'Mahoney was able approximately to maintain his usual vote total in the county, his percentage dropped 15 points to 42 percent! Governor Barrett increased two points from his average percentage, getting 58 percent of the vote. This indicates that Big Horn County voters turned out in unusual numbers in 1952, and that most of the additional voters voted Republican. It does not indicate increased displeasure with Senator O'Mahoney so much as it reveals an increase in support for the Republican Party.

This pattern was very nearly repeated in Hot Springs County. In the past, Senator O'Mahoney had averaged 64 percent of the vote in this MR county. Barrett had averaged somewhat less—around 52 percent. But as in Big Horn County, while O'Mahoney was able to approximate his normal previous vote total, his percentage of the vote dropped to 44 percent. Barrett's record number of votes indicates, as was the case in Big Horn County, that the increase in votes was mostly Republican. Evidently, the Republicans were able to influence more new voters than were the Democrats.

The election results in these two counties were not of primary importance to the final outcome of the race as neither county produced a great margin of victory for the Governor. The other two counties which deviated from normal trends were much more significant in the long run. Senator O'Mahoney lost Natrona County by 2272 votes—over half his final deficit. He had never lost Natrona County before, having averaged 58 percent of the vote. Barrett had carried the county three times in five tries, averaging four percent less than O'Mahoney. Natrona County is categorized by Professor Richard as MR and might have been expected to go over to Barrett in 1952 by a slight margin. But while O'Mahoney managed to best his previous record vote in the county by 96 votes, Governor Barrett received 3339 more votes than he had ever before received in the county! As in other counties, Barrett and the Republicans received the majority of votes cast by new voters in Natrona County.

Sheridan County was similarly important in 1952, giving Barrett a 1814 vote margin over O'Mahoney. This was the Senator's first loss in Sheridan County. Barrett had lost the county the first time he ran for Congress, in 1942, but had won it every two years since. O'Mahoney's average percentage, 57, was five points better than that of Barrett. In 1952, the Senator received 3862 votes in Sheridan County, approximately half-way between his worst and best efforts. But Governor Barrett once again raised his vote record in the county, getting 1772 more votes than ever before.

Table 3
Counties Which O'Mahoney Lost for the First Time in 1952

County	Barrett's Previous High Vote	Previous High Vote Against O'M.	Barrett's Record	Barrett's 1952 Vote	Richard's Evaluation
Big Horn	2830	2280	5-5	3217	MR
Campbell	1538	1376	5-5	1624	SR
Hot Springs	1166	789	4-5	1360	MR
Natrona	6122	5184	3-5	9461	MR
Sheridan	3904	3257	4-5	5676	MR
Washakie	1300	863	5-5	1971	SR

Table 4
Counties Which O'Mahoney Lost by Over 1000 Votes in 1952

County	O'Mahoney's 1952 Vote	Barrett's 1952 Vote	Margin	O'Mahoney's Record		Barrett's Record		Richard's Evaluation
				High Vote	Times Won	High Vote	Times Won	
Natrona	7189	9461	—2272	7093	3-3	6122	3-5	MR
Fremont	3057	5173	—2116	3358	2-3	4433	5-5	SR
Sheridan	3862	5676	—1814	4844	3-3	3904	4-5	MR
Park	2830	4263	—1433	2525	2-3	3107	5-5	SR
Johnson	742	1772	—1020	1105	0-3	1646	5-5	SR

The record turn-out of voters resulted in O'Mahoney dropping 17 points from his average percentage.

Probably the most unique feature of the 1952 Wyoming Senate race was that it truly was a "battle of titans." Joe O'Mahoney and Frank Barrett were undoubtedly their respective parties' most popular candidates. O'Mahoney had already been elected to the U. S. Senate three times. Barrett had campaigned successfully across the state five times during the past decade. Significantly, the two men had never before faced each other in an election. This meant that the Wyoming voters had never been forced to choose between them, and that party lines could be crossed to vote for both of them if the voter so desired. This, of course, was all changed in 1952. One notable consequence of the clash in that year was the inevitable loss to the opposition of certain counties which had always been won in the past.

Both Governor Barrett and Senator O'Mahoney held perfect records in 13 of Wyoming's counties. In 1952, Barrett won 12 of the counties which he had always won in the past, losing only Platte County to O'Mahoney.⁷⁹ The result in Platte County was not too significant or surprising, as the Senator also held a perfect record in that county, and had a slightly higher average percentage of the vote there. As it was, the split in 1952 was only 67 votes.

Unlike Governor Barrett, Senator O'Mahoney was able to carry only seven of the 13 counties in which he held a perfect record—Albany, Carbon, Laramie, Lincoln, Platte, Sweetwater and Uinta.⁸⁰ TABLE 3 is an analysis of the six counties which O'Mahoney lost for the first time in 1952—Big Horn, Campbell, Hot Springs, Natrona, Sheridan and Washakie. Three of the counties, Big Horn, Campbell and Washakie, were in Governor Barrett's perfect-record column. Campbell and Washakie counties are SR counties, and logically might have gone with Barrett. Big Horn County, as has already been shown, went to Barrett with only slightly more votes than might have been anticipated.

Hot Springs, Natrona and Sheridan counties, all moderately Republican, also voted against Senator O'Mahoney for the first time in 1952, even though he approached his usual number of votes in each of them. As Table 3 illustrates, the record vote which Barrett attracted in 1952 was too much for Senator O'Mahoney to counter. O'Mahoney lost these counties not be-

79. The 13 counties which Barrett had always carried were Big Horn, Campbell, Converse, Crook, Fremont, Goshen, Johnson, Niobrara, Park, Platte, Sublette, Washakie and Weston.

80. O'Mahoney had always carried Albany, Big Horn, Campbell, Carbon, Hot Springs, Laramie, Lincoln, Natrona, Platte, Sheridan, Sweetwater, Uinta and Washakie.

cause his vote decreased, which it did not, but because his opponent's vote increased to so great an extent.

Natrona and Sheridan counties, two of the counties which O'Mahoney lost for the first time in 1952, were part of a group of five counties which did him the most damage that year. In those two counties, plus Fremont, Park and Johnson counties, Barrett's margin of victory over the Senator was more than 1000 votes. Such a large deficit, when the total deficit was only 4255 votes, was extremely harmful to the Senator's bid for re-election. Table 4 analyzes the five counties' contributions to O'Mahoney's defeat.

It is safe to say that Senator O'Mahoney had no chance of winning Johnson County. He had never won it in the past; Barrett had never lost it. Barrett was the strongest vote getter that had ever run against O'Mahoney, and Johnson County was strongly Republican. Even the margin of defeat is not too surprising, as O'Mahoney's vote total had decreased in the county in each of his past races.

Fremont County and Park County were also both strongly Republican. O'Mahoney's record was better in these two counties than it was in Johnson County, but Barrett held an edge here, too. As the statistics in Table 2 and Table 4 show, the results in Fremont and Park counties were not far out of line from what might have been expected. Barrett had consistently averaged a higher percentage of the vote in both counties, and there was no reason for that to change in 1952.

The two remaining counties which were so harmful to the Senator's hopes, Natrona and Sheridan, have already been discussed. Before 1952, O'Mahoney had had a perfect record in both counties, while Barrett had lost Sheridan County once and Natrona County twice. The loss of these two counties for the first time, and by such a large margin, was probably the most damaging blow to Senator O'Mahoney's campaign.

ISSUES AND VOTES: SHERIDAN AND NATRONA COUNTIES

Even with the benefits of hindsight, it is impossible to look back on the Wyoming Senate election of 1952 and say for certain why people voted the way they did. Doubtlessly, the general frustration with the Truman administration, with Communism, corruption and Korea, and with economic problems caused many people to turn to the Republican Party. Also, many people vote a party line regardless of issues, and this was undoubtedly the case with many of Wyoming's voters in 1952. When the major issues and normal county voting patterns are taken into account, most of Wyoming's counties appear to have followed what can be considered expected political behavior. But not all of Wyoming's counties aligned

themselves the same way in reaction to the national issues. Obviously, there were local issues which influenced the vote in some counties more than in others. As the preceding chapter showed, the two counties which deviated most from their previous voting patterns were Sheridan and Natrona. They were also two of the counties which voted most strongly against Senator O'Mahoney.

The loss of Sheridan County was not a total surprise to the Senator. In August 1952, Raymond B. Whitaker, the state Democratic chairman, had suggested in a letter to O'Mahoney that special attention would have to be paid Sheridan County if the Senator desired to maintain his 1946 margin of 592 votes.⁸¹ Whitaker cited Governor Barrett's record vote in the county in 1950 as evidence of his popularity there.

Another warning to O'Mahoney concerning Sheridan County came from Wyoming's other Democratic U. S. Senator, Lester C. Hunt. Hunt wrote to O'Mahoney in September, explaining that a study of voting trends had convinced him that Sheridan County would be especially bad for O'Mahoney in 1952.⁸² Senator Hunt did not address himself to the factors that would be working against O'Mahoney in Sheridan County, but a letter which O'Mahoney received from Louis J. O'Marr later in the same month specified two issues which were harming the Senator's reputation in the county; O'Marr reported that "the sheep interests are against you" and the "Leggett case may have hurt you there."⁸³

Apparently, Sheridan County's sheepmen had individually gone the same route as the Wyoming Wool Growers Association, favoring Barrett over O'Mahoney. The senator received other correspondence from friends in Sheridan County which claimed that prominent wool growers, some of them Democrats, were saying that they could not vote for either O'Mahoney or Stevenson.⁸⁴ The wool crisis which was doing so much harm to the sheepmen across the state was also creating a great deal of political trouble for Senator O'Mahoney.

The "Leggett case" which was mentioned by Mr. O'Marr as an important issue was a very complex case which was only indirectly related to Sheridan County. The roots of the case went back to

81. Raymond B. Whitaker, Casper, letter to O'Mahoney, August 19, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

82. Lester C. Hunt, Washington, D. C., letter to O'Mahoney, September 4, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, no folder.

83. Louis J. O'Marr, Washington, D. C., letter to O'Mahoney, September 21, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

84. John W. Songer, Sheridan, letter to O'Mahoney, September 18, 1952, OMC, File Box 170, FF: Campaign. Songer told O'Mahoney that a "formerly active" Democrat with large sheep holdings, Dr. J. E. Carr, was openly opposing the Democratic candidates.

1947, when a man named Alford F. Leggett became part owner of the Motor Sales Company in Cody.⁸⁵ During the next three years, Leggett became sole owner of the company and expanded the business through a series of loans from several banks and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. In 1949, he was given half of a \$100,000 loan from the R. F. C., but in 1950 the Omaha branch of the agency refused to grant him the other \$50,000. He then hired Frank O'Mahoney, an attorney from Worland with R. F. C. experience, to help him secure the rest of his loan. After repeated attempts to deal with the Omaha office of the R. F. C., all failures, Frank O'Mahoney took Leggett to Washington, D. C. to meet his uncle, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney. The Senator called in two financial experts from Washington banks and had them assess the situation. When they saw no reason for the loan to be withheld, O'Mahoney talked to R. F. C. officials in Washington and asked them to investigate the matter. Shortly thereafter, the loan was advanced to Leggett, and Frank O'Mahoney's law offices received payment from Leggett in the form of two automobiles valued at \$4100.

The assistance which Senator O'Mahoney gave his nephew and Mr. Leggett was not unique. As a matter of course, all senators help constituents in their dealings with federal agencies. The problem in this instance came when, in late 1950, Leggett's business collapsed, and he still owed the federal government over \$82,000. The audit which resulted from his bankruptcy revealed that he had falsified his net worth when he had first applied for the R. F. C. loan. He was tried in federal court and convicted for fraud. In 1951 he began to serve a year-and-a-day sentence in a federal prison.

The "Leggett case" became a political issue of major importance to Senator O'Mahoney in 1952 when two former associates of Leggett, Fred F. McGee and Ernest Goppert, both Cody bankers, were brought to trial in Sheridan on charges of helping Leggett falsify his report to the R. F. C. Leggett was brought out of prison to testify at the trial of the two men, and during his testimony he was forced to relate all his dealings with Senator O'Mahoney. The Senator's nephew was also called to testify. During the month of August, the *Sheridan Press* gave the case page-one headlines. Senator O'Mahoney received much adverse publicity during the trial and the association of his name with "government corruption" certainly did him no good, especially since many of the acts

85. The details of the Leggett case, and O'Mahoney's connection with it, are scattered throughout O'Mahoney's papers. Major pieces of information are in OMC, File Box 9, FF: Leggett, A. F., and in OMC, Scrapbook HH, Section: Leggett Case 8/12/52.

of corruption during the Truman administration dealt with the R. F. C. and fraudulent loans.⁸⁶

Another issue which hurt O'Mahoney in Sheridan County had to do with federal budget problems. High taxes had caused a general demand for cuts in federal expenditures, but no one wanted the budget cut in an area which affected personal interests. Farmers and ranchers had complained about the cuts in the 1953 budget for the Department of Agriculture. In Sheridan County, many people were particularly upset when they heard that the U. S. House of Representatives had cut the finances of the Veterans Administration.⁸⁷ The V. A., in turn, had claimed that the budget cut forced a subsequent cut in their finances available to individual V. A. hospitals, such as the one in Sheridan. As the most "reachable" member of the administration party, Senator O'Mahoney received the wrath of the people, who considered the situation one more example of O'Mahoney's failure to represent Wyoming's interests in the Senate.

Like the wool crisis, the Legget case and the Veterans Administration budget cuts in Sheridan County, there were several issues which reached maximum importance in Natrona County. The people of Casper, the center of Wyoming's oil industry, were especially concerned with Senator O'Mahoney's stand on the tidelands issue, which they saw as threatening local control of natural resources. The consolidation of Wyoming's federal land offices in Cheyenne, and the removal of the Casper office, all under a Democratic administration, caused a tremendous amount of hard feelings against O'Mahoney in Casper. And even without these issues, the fact that Governor Barrett had managed to get commitments from many oil companies during the 1950 gubernatorial race meant that Senator O'Mahoney could not hope to gain these oil companies' support.⁸⁸

In appraising the role of Natrona County in Senator O'Mahoney's defeat in 1952, an article in the *Western Political Quarterly* in 1953 focused its attention on the oil industry and the wool growers.⁸⁹ Finding it significant that "Natrona's economy is dominated by oil and wool," the article went on to say that "Senator O'Mahoney had undeniably done a great deal for these interests but it was clear that the interests felt he had not done enough

86. For a review of the R. F. C. loan scandals of the era, see Jules Abels, *The Truman Scandals* (Chicago: Henry Regney Co., 1956). Abels has several chapters on R. F. C. scandals.

87. OMC, File Box 168, FF: O'M Comm: Independent Offices.

88. Frank L. Bowron, oral interview, Laramie, Wyoming, September 29, 1952.

89. John T. Hinckley, 'Wyoming,' in "The 1952 Elections in the Eleven Western States," *Western Political Quarterly*, Volume 6, Number 1 (March 1953), pp. 93-138. This lengthy article was edited by Hugh A. Bone.

recently.”⁹⁰ Furthermore, economic interests do not like to support a candidate that eventually loses, nor do they like to oppose an eventual winner. Thus, much of Governor Barrett's support from the oil and wool interests came more from shrewd politics than from actual complaints against O'Mahoney:

That two interests, oil and wool, came close to formal opposition to Senator O'Mahoney suggests that their leaders felt confident of a national Republican victory. . . . Congressman Barrett's reputation for economic interest representation during his four terms in the House made him the perfect alternative [to Senator O'Mahoney].⁹¹

What backing the Senator had among these interest groups was not enough to cause them to give him their open support in the face of a sure Republican victory.

With all these problems in Natrona County, it was quite evident that the struggle there would be uphill for the Senator. To add to his problems, O'Mahoney was notified in late 1951 that a serious financial crisis faced the *Casper Morning Star*, the only Democratic newspaper in Natrona County.⁹² According to Pat Flannery, the *Star* was losing approximately \$7000 a month and was on the verge of bankruptcy. Even Ernest Wilkerson, a strong Democrat, was threatening to sell his shares of the daily newspaper's stock. Democrats in Casper feared that Republican interests might buy out the paper and turn it into a mouthpiece for the opposition. Jack Scott, a Democrat and part owner of the *Star*, indicated his willingness to take over more shares of stock as a tax deduction if the Democrats would guarantee \$35,000 to keep the paper going until after the 1952 elections. This deal was never arranged, and in September, 1951, Flannery wrote to the Senator describing the folding up of the *Star* as a daily and the decision by its owners (which no longer included Ernest Wilkerson) to print the paper as a weekly.⁹³ The loss of this daily “propaganda” in the year before the election, in a crucial county, was a serious blow to the Senator in his bid for re-election.

This combination of issues and circumstances in Natrona and Sheridan counties, then, doubtlessly contributed a great deal to Frank Barrett's election to the U. S. Senate in 1952. The two counties were central to the Barrett victory for two main reasons—their large margins in favor of Barrett and the fact that O'Mahoney's loss in them was far out of proportion to his previous races. They were not the only important counties in 1952, nor were they

90. Hinckley, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

91. Hinckley, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

92. Pat Flannery, Ft. Laramie, memo to O'Mahoney, September 4, 1951, OMC, File Box 154, FF: Memos from Pat Flannery.

93. Pat Flannery, Ft. Laramie, letter to O'Mahoney, September 17, 1951, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

the only counties with local issues.⁹⁴ But Joe O'Mahoney had always done relatively better in both counties than Barrett had done, and his loss of the two counties by a total margin of 4087 votes was disastrous to his campaign. Johnson, Park and Fremont counties also cost O'Mahoney many votes, but they were strongly Republican and "strongly Barrett" counties which the Senator had little chance of winning. It was the reversals in counties such as Natrona, Sheridan, Big Horn and Hot Springs—counties which he might have won—which cost O'Mahoney the election. And of these four counties, Natrona and Sheridan were by far the most significant.

"THE TERRIBLE FIVE-STARRED CATASTROPHE"

Dwight D. Eisenhower became President of the United States in 1952 with a landslide victory over Adlai E. Stevenson. Looking back on the campaign, most political analysts agreed that Eisenhower's personal popularity and the Korean War were the deciding factors in the Republican victory.⁹⁵ As the pollster, Louis Harris, stated, "If one were to find a single, basic root cause out of which the impatience and protest of 1952 grew, it would have to be the failure of the Administration to bring the Korean fighting to a successful close."⁹⁶

Senator O'Mahoney was content to apply this same type of reasoning to explain his defeat in the Wyoming Senate election. In answering friends' and constituents' letters in the months following the election, O'Mahoney continually returned to the theme of Eisenhower's popularity and the Korean conflict as the reasons for the Republican victory. Writing to Mrs. Oliver M. Presbrey of New York in December, O'Mahoney called himself "a political casualty of the Korean War."⁹⁷ In several other letters, he emphasized General Eisenhower's promise to go to Korea as the over-

94. In Fremont County, for instance, farmers on the Riverton Reclamation Project were exceedingly displeased with federal efforts to make the Project lands irrigable, and had complained to Senator O'Mahoney about their problems several times in the past. In the 1952 election, all the Project precincts voted for Barrett. For an analysis of the problem, see LGFC, File Box 2, FF: Memoranda—1952, and W. M. Haight, Riverton, letter to O'Mahoney, November 24, 1952, OMC, Scrapbook JJ.

95. "Social Revolution or Housecleaning?" *New Republic*, Volume CXXVII, November 24, 1952, pp. 12-13; Louis Harris, *Is There a Republican Majority?* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 23; Ronald J. Caridi, *The Korean War and American Politics: The Republican Party as a Case Study* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), *passim*.

96. Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

97. O'Mahoney, letter to Mrs. Oliver M. Presbrey, New York, December 24, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, no folder.

whelming cause of Governor Barrett's triumph. In November, for instance, he wrote:

Reviewing the Senatorial election now, I feel that Eisenhower's promise to go to Korea, and the manner in which the Republicans capitalized this statement to convince unwary voters that it meant the end of the war, switched enough votes in the last several days to make the difference between victory and defeat.⁹⁸

Much of the Senator's post-election correspondence with friends stressed the Republican presidential candidate's role in the general Democratic defeat. O'Mahoney liked to remind people that Eisenhower received 63 percent of Wyoming's vote, while Frank Barrett could only manage 51 percent.⁹⁹ In attempting to console a fellow Wyoming Democrat after the election, O'Mahoney suggested that "Our democratic [*sic*] friends throughout the State should remember that this was an Eisenhower landslide, not a Republican victory."¹⁰⁰

In only a few letters to close friends and fellow senators, did O'Mahoney admit that other issues besides the Korean War and Dwight D. Eisenhower had had some influence in Wyoming's Senate election. Four letters which he wrote to friends between November 10 and November 12 listed the "submerged lands" (tidelands) as second in importance only to the Korean War as an issue.¹⁰¹ But O'Mahoney failed to mention this issue in other correspondence, and aside from a few references to falling agricultural prices, he did not bring up any other issues.

Pat Flannery, O'Mahoney's political assistant, was as convinced as O'Mahoney that Eisenhower and Korea were the keys to Governor Barrett's victory. In his final election analysis, Flannery tried to absolve Wyoming's Democrats of the blame for O'Mahoney's defeat:

This was not a defeat of the Democratic Party by the Republican Party or the Democratic principles of government by the Republican principles. It was a victory of a magic name which had been a household word and idol in most American homes for the past 10 years. Without this magic name, O'Mahoney would have been re-elected by

98. O'Mahoney, letter to Robert Chaffin, Torrington, November 15, 1952, OMC, File Box 170, FF: Campaign. Similar statements can be found in O'Mahoney's letters to John Bentley, Laramie, December 11, 1952 and to Tom Rees, Laramie, December 13, 1952, OMC, Scrapbook JJ.

99. O'Mahoney, letter to Mrs. Virginia J. Mann, New York, OMC, File Box 44, no folder.

100. O'Mahoney, letter to Lowell O. Stephens, Cheyenne, December 29, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, no folder.

101. O'Mahoney, letter to Mike Mansfield, November 10, 1952; O'Mahoney, letter to Thurman Arnold, Washington, D. C., November 10, 1952; O'Mahoney, letter to Maurice Rosenblatt, New York, November 10, 1952; O'Mahoney, letter to Senator Lister Hill, Washington, D. C., November 12, 1952—all in OMC, Scrapbook JJ.

a majority equal or exceeding the largest majority he ever received in previous elections, and Bob Rose would have probably been the next Congressman.¹⁰²

Surprisingly, Governor Barrett did not try to take personal credit for defeating Wyoming's senior senator. In his response to a *U. S. News & World Report* inquiry, Barrett emphasized the role of national issues in the Wyoming election. His telegram to the news magazine read:

People wanted complete change, were solidly behind Eisenhower and wanted to support him with a Republican Senator. Contributing factors were stalemate in Korea, mess in Washington, as well as local factors. . . .¹⁰³

Constituents and friends who wrote to the Senator after his defeat had various explanations for his failure to gain re-election. One woman, obviously a Barrett supporter, sent O'Mahoney a "crying towel" with a donkey sewn on it, and wrote that she was pleased that finally the "pinko supporters were being run out of office."¹⁰⁴ Senator James E. Murray of Montana, in explaining to O'Mahoney why he thought Barrett won, said that "I understand that the sheep and wool people worked openly against you."¹⁰⁵ During the campaign rumors had existed to the effect that Texas and California oil companies, angry about O'Mahoney's stand on the tidelands question, were spending vast sums of money in Wyoming to help defeat the Senator. O'Mahoney, himself, was convinced that the accusation was true, and several friends wrote to him after the election indicating that they held the same belief. U. T. McCurry of Los Angeles wrote to O'Mahoney about meeting Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman and of being told by Chapman that "the Hunt oil interests of Texas spent about one million dollars to defeat you."¹⁰⁶ Most of O'Mahoney's correspondents, however, agreed with the Senator that General Eisenhower's coattails were the controlling factor in the election, and that O'Mahoney was "one of the victims of the terrible five-starred catastrophe."¹⁰⁷

The Eisenhower landslide doubtlessly had a great deal to do with

102. Pat Flannery, "1952 Election," LGFC, File Box 2, FF: Election Material, 1952.

103. "Why I Won—Why I Lost," *U. S. News & World Report*, Volume XXXIII, November 14, 1952, p. 83.

104. Rebecca R. Wyncoop, Casper, letter to O'Mahoney, not dated, OMC, File Box 168, FF: O'M Personal.

105. James Murray, Montana, letter to O'Mahoney, November 22, 1952, OMC, File Box 44, no folder.

106. U. T. McCurry, Los Angeles, letter to O'Mahoney, December 2, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, no folder.

107. Peter D. Vroom, Chicago, letter to O'Mahoney, November 11, 1952, OMC, Scrapbook JJ.

Governor Barrett's victory over Senator O'Mahoney in 1952. But a closer look at Wyoming politics, the state Democratic party, and Joseph C. O'Mahoney reveals a set of circumstances that boded ill for the Senator, regardless of national issues. Wyoming is generally a Republican state, and for a Democratic candidate to succeed in the state, his party must show unusual zeal. The New Deal years had helped Wyoming's Democratic party and they had helped Joe O'Mahoney; both had prospered from the national swing toward the party of Franklin Roosevelt. By 1952, however, the political benefit of being a "New Dealer" was gone and Wyoming's Democrats faced a difficult task. Unfortunately for O'Mahoney and his party, they continued to act as if they could still campaign on their New Deal record and past Republican failures.

Wyoming's Republicans were well prepared for the 1952 campaign and took advantage of Democratic inertia to control the contest. John T. Hinckley, analyzing the 1952 Wyoming election for the *Western Political Quarterly*, observed that:

Wyoming politics has probably never seen such co-ordinated and concentrated use of local and county partisans as that demonstrated by the Republicans in 1952. By contrast, the Democratic effort was notably lacking in organization, supervision, or lower echelon activity. Indeed the party failed even to nominate candidates for fourteen seats in the legislature.¹⁰⁸

For some reason, in the face of the greatest challenge of his career, Senator O'Mahoney and the Democrats put on one of the most lackluster, lethargic and disorganized campaigns in many years. The Wyoming Democratic Party in 1952 was lacking in central leadership, direction and organization. In the primary election, for instance, five rather antagonistic candidates battled for the party's nomination for the U. S. House of Representatives.¹⁰⁹ The Republicans, on the other hand, had only one candidate for that position. To further complicate the Democrats' problems, many of the party leaders became embittered with each other when they could not decide whether to support Estes Kefauver, Adlai E. Stevenson or some other presidential candidate at the national convention. In addition, not everyone was satisfied with the work of the state Democratic chairman, Raymond B. Whitaker.¹¹⁰ Certainly, these problems were not totally Senator O'Mahoney's fault, but as the head of Wyoming's Democrats and the major party

108. Hinckley, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

109. The five candidates were Alice de Mauriac Hammond, Frank M. Thomas, Sidney G. Kornegay, Carl A. Johnson and Robert R. Rose, Jr. Rose was the victor.

110. Mrs. Velma Funda, Casper, letter to Pat Flannery, June 9, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, no folder.

candidate running for office in 1952, he had the responsibility of seeing that they were ironed out.

One very serious situation which hurt the Democratic cause in Wyoming in 1952, was the presence of Robert R. Rose on the state ticket as candidate for the U. S. House of Representatives. Rose was a Casper attorney and former mayor who, with the help of Senator O'Mahoney, had become an Assistant Secretary of the Interior in 1951. Rose was not particularly well liked across the state, and when he began to receive increased income from oil leases which he held, his integrity was called into question. Mrs. Velma Funda, a Casper Democrat, wrote to Senator O'Mahoney in April 1952, before Rose was nominated for Congress, and suggested that the Senator not even send Rose to Casper to campaign for him, since the news around Casper was that O'Mahoney got Rose the job with the Interior Department so that "both could become millionaires from oil leases."¹¹¹

Unfortunately for the Democrats, this accusation did not prevent Rose from entering politics in 1952. After a bitterly fought primary campaign, he defeated his four opponents and became the Democratic nominee for Congress. He did very poorly in the election, carrying only Carbon and Sweetwater counties. In his home county, Natrona, he fared even worse than Senator O'Mahoney, losing to William Henry Harrison 10,476 votes to 5832 votes.¹¹²

After the election, Senator O'Mahoney received several letters from Wyomingites who claimed that it was his support of Rose which lost him his Senate seat. A. J. Hardendorf of Lander wrote that he agreed with the majority of people to whom he spoke that O'Mahoney's support of Rose cost him the election because Rose had very little support even within the Democratic Party.¹¹³ Another constituent told O'Mahoney in a letter that:

I think the worst thnig you did was probably bringing about the appointment of Robert Rose to the position of Assistant Secretary of the Interior. I give you credit for having the understanding to judge men well enough to know that Rose was in no way qualified for this position, that his past experience did not justify it. . . . If you had

111. Mrs. Velma Funda, Casper, letter to O'Mahoney, April 10, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material. Pat Flannery answered Mrs. Funda's letter for O'Mahoney, explaining that Rose's oil leases were perfectly legal as he had held them before he accepted his job in Washington, D. C. Flannery's letter to Mrs. Funda is filed in the Senator's papers along with her letter to O'Mahoney.

112. 1953 *Wyoming Official Directory and 1952 Election Returns*, op. cit., p. 57.

113. A. J. Hardendorf, Lander, letter to O'Mahoney, December 27, 1952, OMC, File Box 44, no folder.

appointed me the Queen of Sheba it would not have been any worse.¹¹⁴

Whatever the merits of Rose's candidacy, or his qualifications for the Interior Department position, his unpopularity and consequent poor showing in the election hurt the Democrats in 1952. In a Republican year, they needed a strong ticket, not a ticket that failed even to unite their own party.

The worst shortcoming of Wyoming's Democrats in 1952 was the miserable condition of the county party organizations. Senator O'Mahoney received numerous letters from across the state complaining that the county organizations were doing little or nothing for the campaign. George C. McCormick, writing to O'Mahoney from Thermopolis in April 1952, explained that "In this county we are handicapped by our chairman, A. R. Zimmerman being sick all the year and spending the winter at Phoenix, leaving no one in authority to look after party interests."¹¹⁵ From Sheridan County, a key county in the election, O'Mahoney received a report that Democrats there "surely are not alive as they never have a meeting or do a thing."¹¹⁶ Three weeks before the election, a Natrona County Democrat described for O'Mahoney party organization in that county:

I am worried and concerned over the lack of unity and agreement in our State and County Democratic Committees in Natrona County. also there is no cooperation or seemingly no understanding between the two committees.¹¹⁷

After election day, county Democratic leaders had nothing better to say concerning their organizations' efforts. From Douglas, John T. Miles wrote to O'Mahoney the day after the election apologizing for his county's effort:

I am ashamed of our showing yesterday. . . . When the polls opened on Tuesday, I had two checkers report out of twenty-one. Our State Committeeman & his wife both failed to even show up during the day & spent the evening with Republicans.¹¹⁸

George C. McCormick, who had earlier lamented the Hot Springs County Democratic chairman's winter in Phoenix, wrote to O'Mahoney on November 14 that "locally the Democratic organization

114. Charles G. Moore, Dubois, letter to O'Mahoney, November 6, 1952, OMC, Scrapbook JJ.

115. George C. McCormick, Thermopolis, letter to O'Mahoney, April 2, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

116. Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm M. Hise, Sheridan, letter to O'Mahoney, August 11, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, no folder.

117. Mrs. Mary I. Astin, Casper, letter to O'Mahoney, September 11, 1952, OMC, File Box 169, FF: O'M PER: 1952 Campaign Material.

118. John T. Miles, Douglas, letter to O'Mahoney, November 5, 1952, OMC, Scrapbook JJ.

practically failed to function at all."¹¹⁹ Goshen County Democrats were much more explicit in their letters to O'Mahoney as to what had been wrong with the campaign. One obviously irate county leader even had some disguised praise for the Republicans in his condemnation of Democratic effort:

Goshen County and its workers didn't do what I wanted them to do, nor did they follow up my suggestions and I was terrible disappointed [*sic*]. I have learned from past experiences you can't sit on your fanny and expect results, you just have to put out some energy and that's what won for the republicans, they put in lots of time and effort, they drove miles and miles, held meetings night after night, besides standing on streets all day handing out all the rot and trash they could think of, besides their women worked with them day and night.¹²⁰

In a somewhat more analytical tone, another Goshen County Democrat, Robert N. Chaffin, explained to Senator O'Mahoney that the results of the election were much better in the precincts where good organizations had been built, but that there were just too few precincts with good organizations.¹²¹

Individually, these examples of malfunctions within the Democratic party in Wyoming may seem insignificant or even humorous, but taken together, they indicate a very serious problem—the Democrats were simply unorganized in 1952.

Senator O'Mahoney had become increasingly less popular in the years preceding 1952 as the Wyoming electorate began to feel that he was not representing Wyoming properly. The Senate race of 1952 revolved mainly around issues in which the Senator held unpopular views and around issues related to the most controversial aspects of the New Deal and the Truman administration. The tidelands issue, the Fallbrook case, the Leggett scandal and the Korean War all contained political trouble for O'Mahoney because he did not see eye-to-eye with the people of Wyoming concerning the main questions involved. O'Mahoney's position was also in jeopardy because various Wyoming economic and political interests were suffering from conditions which they at least partially blamed on the Senator and his party. Many farmers and ranchers opposed O'Mahoney because of the general agricultural depression and the wool crisis. Casperites were alienated because of the removal of the Federal Land Office to Cheyenne. Many Sheridan residents resented cuts in the budget for the Veterans Administration hospital in that city. The general issues of Communism, corruption in government and the Korean War affected all the

119. George C. McCormick, Thermopolis, letter to O'Mahoney, November 14, 1952, OMC, Scrapbook JJ.

120. Oliver J. Colyer, Torrington, letter to O'Mahoney, not dated, OMC, Scrapbook JJ.

121. Robert N. Chaffin, Torrington, letter to O'Mahoney, November 25, 1952, OMC, Scrapbook JJ.

people of Wyoming, and contributed to the overall shift to the Republican Party.

Perhaps without all these unfavorable issues, Senator O'Mahoney could have afforded to run a less-than-perfect campaign and could have afforded to let the state Democratic organizations fall into a state of inertia. But with the issues against him, O'Mahoney's failure to recognize the Wyoming Democratic party for the skeleton it was, proved to be his undoing in 1952. And he would have had to begin reorganizing the party long before he began his campaign in 1952 to have prevented the Republican victory.

Senator O'Mahoney's predominant weakness as a candidate in 1952 was the belief held by many Wyomingites that he spent far too much time in Washington, and that he returned to Wyoming only when he was forced to campaign for re-election. His detractors claimed that he never bothered to return to the state to find out what the people of Wyoming wanted him to do in the Senate. The Republicans used his unpopular stands on such issues to show that O'Mahoney either did not know what his constituents desired, or else he refused to represent their wishes in Washington. To the people of Wyoming, it did not matter if Joe O'Mahoney was becoming, to quote Vice President Alben W. Barkley, a "national figure, a national statesman." Nineteen years seniority in the U. S. Senate did not mean anything to the people of Wyoming if that seniority was not used in the best interests of the state, and the people believed that they should be the judges of their own best interests.

This belief that O'Mahoney did not come home enough and that he neglected the interests of Wyoming probably hurt him politically more than any other issue in the 1952 campaign. But what was even more damaging to the Senator's chances for re-election was the fact that his long absences from Wyoming had caused him to allow his party organization and his political contact with the state to degenerate.

Joe O'Mahoney had been an excellent politician in his time. He had headed Wyoming's Democratic party for over two decades. He had been Wyoming's all-time record vote getter. He had been elected to the U. S. Senate as a Democrat three times in a Republican state. But in 1952, he and his party were unprepared, or unable, or unwilling to wage an effective campaign. Strategists for both parties were aware that the vote in 1952 would likely be a record vote. But only Wyoming's Republican party was ready to capitalize on this possibility, and through superb organization and campaign effort it successfully courted the state's new voters and the independent vote. O'Mahoney and the Democrats, on the other hand, failed to realize the work it would take to beat Frank Barrett. Barrett was very well known and well liked across the state. Most of the new voters were probably aware of

his record as governor, or had seen him campaign in 1950. On the contrary, O'Mahoney had not campaigned since 1946, and the new voters were not as likely to be familiar with his past accomplishments since the U. S. Senate is not as close to home as the state governor's mansion.

With the prospect of a record voter turn out, and most of the issues favoring the Republicans, O'Mahoney's only chance for victory was to inform as many people as possible of his past record and of the benefits of keeping him in the Senate. But the Senator and his party put out far too little effort to accomplish this objective in 1952. The county and state Democratic organizations were in poor condition, with little coordination between them and less enthusiasm for their task. O'Mahoney, himself, did not seem to take seriously the difficulty of defeating Governor Barrett. He took Barrett's good showing in the primary election lightly. He waited until after mid-summer to begin campaigning in earnest. He waited until the months before the election to try to combat the accusation that he came home far too seldom. During the campaign, he concentrated his effort in Democratic counties, "preaching to the faithful," when he should have been out trying to convert independents and new voters. This great difference between the exertions of the Republicans and the remissness of O'Mahoney and the Democrats was reflected in the election. Voter turn out was highest in Barrett's strongly Republican counties and lowest in O'Mahoney's few Democratic counties.¹²²

Whether or not Senator O'Mahoney's long tenure in the nation's capital had caused him to neglect the wishes of Wyoming's people, it certainly had caused him to fail to keep up with Wyoming politics. Though one of his favorite accomplishments, O'Mahoney's coveted seniority in the U. S. Senate did him more harm than good politically in 1952. While gaining it, he had lost contact with the people of Wyoming. In becoming a national statesman, he had failed to remain a Wyoming politician.

122. "Teton County Has Highest Percentage," OMC, Scrapbook GG.

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COFFEE, TEA, BEVERAGES

Egg Nog

Beat the yellows of twelve eggs very light, stir in as much white sugar as they will dissolve, pour in gradually one glass of brandy to cook the eggs, one glass of old whiskey, one grated nutmeg, and three pints of rich milk. Beat the whites to a froth and stir in last.

Koumiss

Koumiss is prepared by dissolving four ounces of white sugar in one gallon of skimmed milk, and placing in bottles of the capacity of one quart; add two ounces of baker's yeast, or a cake of compressed yeast to each bottle. Cork and tie securely, set in a warm place until fermentation is well under way, and lay the bottles on their sides in a cool cellar. In three days, fermentation will have progressed sufficiently to permit the koumiss to be in good condition.

SALADS

Herbs for Winter

To prepare herbs for winter use, such as sage, summer savory, thyme, mint or any of the sweet herbs, they should be gathered fresh in their season, or procure them from the market. Examine them well, throwing out all poor sprigs; then wash and shake them; tie into small bundles, and tie over the bundles a piece of netting or old lace, (to keep off the dust); hang up in a warm, dry place, the leaves downward. In a few days the herb will be thoroughly dry and brittle. Or you may place them in a cool oven, and let them remain in it until perfectly dry. Then pick off the leaves, and the tender tops of the stems; put them in a clean, large-mouthed bottle that is perfectly dry. When wanted for use, rub fine, and sift through a sieve. It is much better to put them in bottles as soon as dried, as long exposure to the air causes them to lose strength and flavor.

VEGETABLES

Hasty Cooked Potatoes

Wash and peel some potatoes; cut them into slices of about a quarter of an inch in thickness; throw them into *boiling* salted water, and, if of good quality, they will be done in about ten minutes.

Strain off the water, put the potatoes into a hot dish, chop them slightly, add pepper, salt, and a few pieces of fresh butter, and serve without loss of time.

Excerpts from *The White House Cook Book*, 1887



A Review and Functional Analysis of Siouan Costume

By

LAVINA M. FRANCK

The word "Plains" is no more than a geographic term, but it is customarily used to denote those Indian tribes who lived in areas between the Rocky Mountains and the Missouri River, and between northern Texas and southern Manitoba. Most Plains tribes had migrated to this territory from some other place, and have occupied this area for only several hundred years. Their tribal divisions are the Arapaho, the Assiniboin, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Commanche, Crow, Gros Ventre, Kiowa and the Sioux.

The cultures of these Plains Indian tribes reached high development and had various commonalities. Ecological exploitation of the buffalo sharply distinguishes the Plains tribes from the Woodland, the Basin and the Southwestern tribes. This cultural structure was in existence prior to the horse, the fur trade or other influences from the white men. All Plains tribes relied upon buffalo as an economic base: their nomadic lives were adapted to the wandering ways of the buffalo; they ate buffalo meat as their main diet; buffalo hides and the hides of such animals as elk and antelope provided materials for their clothing; their homes were movable tipis covered with the hides of buffalo. There was, in Plains Indian cultures, a complete absence of agriculture and fishing. There was no weaving, no basketmaking and no true pottery making. There was little carving done in either wood, bone or stone. Tribal organizations were based on the camp circle and tribal fraternal and military societies were exclusively male in membership. Each tribe had its own distinctive and meaningful ceremonies and rituals, it is true, but generally, all Plains Indian tribes observed the Sun Dance ceremonies.

"Sioux" is an abbreviated form of the word "Nadowessieux."

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Illustration No. 1

FRONT ROW, LEFT TO RIGHT: MRS. ALFRED NIGHT PIPE, ANNIE BLACK SPOTTED HORSE, LEUCY OWNS THE BATTLE, ZOUIE HOLLOW HORN BEAR, MRS. DANIEL HOLLOW HORN BEAR; BACK ROW, LEFT TO RIGHT: JOSEPH FRIGHTENED (CHIEF), MRS. KATE NOBELL, ALFRED NIGHT PIPE (CHIEF).

An Algonkin word meaning "the snake-like one" or "enemy" was "Nadowesiweg." Through much evolution, however, the final form of the word, at least as used by the white man, is the one we know as "Sioux." "Dakota" was used by members of the Sioux nation to mean "friends" or "allies."

The Sioux first met white men in about mid-seventeenth century. At that time the Sioux were living in a mainly agricultural economy in an area northwest of the Great Lakes. Another tribe, the Ojibwa, was engaged in continuous warfare. The Ojibwa were friendly to French fur traders but the Sioux were not, and when the French supplied firearms to the Ojibwa, the Sioux were driven out of this territory into a western area along the Mississippi River. Eventually, the Sioux gave up all phases of their former agricultural ways and adopted a life style in harmony with their new territory, the Plains.

There was, to be sure, a branch of Siouan stock which had migrated from the Middle West to settle in the river areas of the Santee and Peedee of the Carolinas, leaving their kin to migrate upwards to the Dakotas. The present study, however, will not include the eastern group.

Then, because their existence was dependent upon the buffalo, the Sioux developed a hunting, nomadic culture. They lived in the center of buffalo areas and buffalo became their main food source. From buffalo bones were made tools and from buffalo hides wearing apparel, tipis, shields and many accessories. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sioux had fully established themselves as a buffalo-hunting culture. They had adopted the horse to their use and were expert horsemen. They had established, too, their reputation as a warlike nation. Siouan life had become essentially one of wandering and warfare.

The clothing patterns of any culture depend upon degrees of technological expertise as well as upon the materials available in a physical environment. For the Sioux, the major source of clothing material was the hide of buffalo, elk and deer. A tanned deerskin is referred to as a buckskin. When skin was dehaired and scraped but not tanned, it is referred to as rawhide. Generally, rawhide was used, to mention some examples, in the construction of moccasins, shields, drums and storage cases.

When skins were to be attached together, they were cut and edges were perforated with a bone awl. Then the cut pieces were attached by threading sinew through the perforations. All of this was the work of tribal women. It has been observed that the clothing of northern Plains tribes was fitted more closely than that of southern Indians. With the exception of the buffalo robe, most clothing for both sexes was fitted, or anatomical. Probably the protective value of a fitted garment worn in winter cold was a discovery of those northern tribal women.

While clothing of all Plains Indians was similar in form and materials, their decorative details differed among the southern, central and northern tribes. At one time, before much trading with the whites, garb was a truly distinguishable clue to tribal origin. Southern Plains costumes were usually undecorated excepting for the lavish use of fringe; fringing had become a highly developed technique among southern tribes. The central Plains Indians used

decorative details in amounts varying according to their location north or south.

Most northern Plains Indians, including the Sioux, decorated their clothing in various applied designs. Animal and human hair, fur, bead and quill embroidery were favored for decorative uses and paints, from pigments of both plant and earthen origin, served to decorate both body and clothing. Ornaments such as earrings of shells, quilled arm-bands, gorgets of shells and claw necklaces were added.

A general review of Sioux clothing shows that there was not a wide variety of clothing. Each sex had a distinctive mode of dress but there were few main pieces for each sex. The following descriptions of Sioux clothing mention those worn during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and before the Sioux met the white men

Principal items of clothing for the Sioux male were his robe, breechclout, shirt, leggings, moccasins, belt and headgear; cuffs and gauntlets were usually reserved for ceremonial wear. A buffalo robe, when used at all, was the main covering of his body; a whole hide was used. Every man wore a breechclout made of soft



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Illustration No. 2
YELLOW HAIR, ROSEBUD SIOUX

skin measuring about a foot wide and four to six feet long. It was worn by being passed between the legs and pulled under his belt at both front and back; the ends hung down in an apron effect. The leggings of the Sioux man extended from ankle to thigh and were held by thongs attached to their tops, and tied to a waist-belt. These belts were made of narrow strips of skin and worn around the waist to hold up the breechclout, and to serve as a support for the leggings and knife sheaths. Generally, the early Plains Indians did not wear shirts. However, the Sioux did begin the use of the shirt from some distant, early time, and presumably found them another protection against the cold. During winter months fur mittens were worn by both sexes.

Usually, Sioux men did not wear caps except during cold weather. Many types of headgear were significantly connected with ceremonial and ritual. The war bonnet was worn by certain men



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Illustration No. 3
HOLLOW HORN, UPPER BRULE SIOUX

of the tribe and was of two types: some in which feathers were placed straight up, and others whose feathers sloped at an angle from the headband. Siouan war bonnets were of the latter type, slanting backward and flaring out. Sometimes the cap, or crown, of the bonnet was trimmed with fur and hollow horns. (Illustration 1)

Customary footgear of the Sioux was the moccasin. A type common to the Plains Indians had a hair-leather sole and an upper body extending to the ankle-bone. Finely worked bands of flattened porcupine-quill decoration grace the uppers of some fine Siouan moccasins in the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. Except through use, there is no discernible right or left foot in the shaping of the moccasin.

As with men's clothing, Siouan women's apparel consisted of but a few main pieces, the robe, dress, leggings and footwear. Her buffalo robe was similar to that of the man's. Her dress, which was her main body covering, might be either of two main styles: one was made by sewing two skins up the sides and across the top; leaving the arm and neck openings; the other was more complex in that a bodice sleeve unit was attached to a skirt unit with a waistline seam. The woman's leggings usually reached from ankle to knee and were kept in place by a garter tied around the calf. Her moccasins were similar to those of the man although her belt over the dress was much wider than a man's belt.

Children usually went naked, when weather permitted, for their first several years, especially so in summer and in the tipi during winter. As children grew older, they were dressed in the styling of adults.

* * * * *

The role that clothing plays within any cultural group can be understood by analyzing the functions of their clothing since apparel and adornment are part of the integral social patterning of all societies. An analysis of function involves the examination of instrumental and expressive functions of a group's clothing and adornment, and in such analysis, a particular item of clothing may serve as either an instrumental or expressive function, or both—multifunctional.

Instrumental function denotes the service of clothing to the wearer. Clothing may be worn by the human being for protection from his physical and social environment—to keep warm or dry, to fend off an enemy's weapons, or to keep evil spirits at bay. And garments may be used in an instrumental way such as in an intent to realize a desired goal, to get a job, a social status or attract a mate. Instrumental function of apparel is evident also in the special ritual garb of rites of passage; the wearer of this special clothing moves from one status to another, as in a wedding, a baptism or in the granting of collegiate degrees.

Expressive functions of clothing suggest its communicative aspects. In this function, clothing may be said to transmit some message about the wearer—rank, status, sex, age, occupation, and occasionally, religion. Within the implications of expressive function, the wearer announces his position in his own social grouping.

A functional analysis of clothing and adornment is applicable to the relationship between garb and mores of any social order. But in this present writing, the clothing and adornment of the Sioux, or Dakota, Indian nation only is under analytical consideration for their intertwining relationship of garb to social patterns.

Siouan men and women learned to endure a harsh physical environment which turned searing hot summers and freezing winters upon them. They were able to live through these climatic extremes partly because they adapted and used clothing as protection against those adverse elements.

The buffalo robe was an important body covering for both men and women. This hide was well suited in its function as a robe because of its size and its pliable texture. In winter these robes were worn with the hair turned inwards. For summer use such skins were scraped and dehaired so that they were thinner and lighter and consequently cooler.

The moccasin was constructed of an upper body of soft skin for ease in wearing, but a tough rawhide sole gave the wearer protection against rough terrain on the Plains. Moccasins made of buffalo skin, with the fur intact, were worn during winter, and men's shirts were cut and fitted so that, in cold weather, a protective defense for the body was created. It is interesting that usual Plains Indian attire did not allow for pockets. A belt provided a device on which to hang bags, pouches and knife-sheaths.

Activities of Sioux men centered around hunting and warfare. Some of their clothing developed as devices to protect the warrior in battle, but interpretation of this varied. A warrior or hunter gained what freedom of movements he thought necessary during these activities by eliminating as many items of clothing as possible; he might wear only his breechclout and moccasins during a battle so that he would not be hampered by restricting clothing. However, other Siouan men dressed in their finest garb, such as buckskin shirts, leggings, arm bands and bone breastplates in the belief that, should they die in battle, their enemies would see them at their best.

Generally, all warriors wore insignia that would assure them magic protection in battle. These insignia or amulets were taken from birds or animals they admired, such as hair from the buffalo, claws from the bear or feathers from the eagle. To some extent all animals were of some sacred symbolism to the Indian mind for the Sioux lived constantly with these creatures, and a wealth of tribal legends and familiar associations attributed magical powers to certain beasts. To wear some such amulet was a way in which

a human might gain an inherent quality of that bird or animal or that some special ability of that animal might be transferred to him.

The buffalo and some other large animals were revered by the Sioux for special powers of strength and stamina. After all, the buffalo was the most important of four-legged animals; it supplied their food, their clothing and even their houses, which were made from its tanned hide. How natural then that this magnificent animal, containing all these splendid qualities, should be to the Sioux a symbol of the universe!

Shirts and shields decorated with the painted figure of a bear would impart the fierceness of the savage bear to the user of these implements. During some ceremonial dances deerskin armbands were worn so that the dancer would have the deer's fleetness and grace of movement. Carrying an amulet to which owl feathers were attached gave one the owl's special ability to see in the dark. The design of a turtle had its own special meaning.

Eagle feathers were highly prized among all Plains tribes and were used both as war insignia and as ritual symbols. A war bonnet of eagle feathers could transfer the courage and speed of the eagle to the bonnet wearer; a war shield painted and decorated with eagle feathers had similar special powers. Golden eagle feathers were especially prized. Since the spotted eagle flies higher than all creatures and sees everything, he is akin to the sun; his feathers are veritable rays of the sun and when the warrior carries one of these feathers, the wearer actually becomes the eagle, and those all-surveying powers are transferred to the Indian himself.

Some warriors embellished their shields with cabalistic designs which appeared to them in visions and dreams. Such vision-inspired designs were thought to have supernatural elements of protection and might be painted on various war weapons. The Indian might always carry with him this symbol, whether inspired from vision or from material animal or object, so that its power could always guide him; he might feel himself actually identified with that principle.

Amuletic devices were used also for other reasons than those of protection in battle. For example, the birth of a child was a happy event in a family and during the mother's pregnancy, the grandmother of the unborn child made two earthen-clay lizards or tortoises. A lizard, or a tortoise, is difficult to kill and their special inherent powers were invoked in a symbolistic transfer to the unborn child to assure viable delivery. After the child's birth, one animal amulet would serve as a receptacle for the umbilical cord and the other was additional protection to the child in warding off evil forces. The amulet was attached to the child when he was old enough to walk and wear clothing.

The culture of the Plains Indians was rich in symbolistic ritual and the Sioux tribes were no exception. Sioux ceremonies included offerings, prayers for protection, celebrations of victories, laments

for the dead, and the Sun Dance. Special rituals were celebrated before hunts and battles, usually as entreaties for protection against enemy arrows and evil spirits.

The Sun Dance was a major sacred ceremony which would last for some days, and usually was an annual occurrence. For this ceremony, the male participants wore special garb and painted their bodies and faces. Buffalo hides, rabbit skins, red and blue paint, eagle feathers and other skins had apppareling use in these rituals.

There were many varieties of buffalo dances and ceremonies. Sometimes dance participants would be dressed to represent an entire buffalo herd. In other variations, only the buffalo mask and tail might be used by participants in the ceremonies.

Clothing and adornment, including body paint, had their role in all these various rites. Special ceremonies called for special clothing for the participant—special in that the garments were different from everyday attire. For instance, a breechclout when used as ritual dress was longer than the everyday one—its apron-like ends hung to the ankle-bones of the wearer. Ceremonial breechclouts were decorated while those used every day were not. Women's dresses for ceremonial and gala use were heavily embellished with quilled or beaded embroidery, elk's teeth or shells. Ceremonial leggings and moccasins for both men and women were richly ornamented with dyed quill work or beads. (Illustrations 1 and 2)

The Sioux made face and body paint from earth as well as from organic sources. Various parts of the body were painted for various reasons: as protection against the sun, wind and insects; symbolic markings which represented membership in certain societies; for performance of brave deeds; and also for personal decoration without significant symbolism.

Coloration in decoration did not carry the same meanings to all tribes but was particular and individual instead. Generally then, black represented death, red represented life, yellow was symbolic of joy; white indicated peace and purity, while blue could have the meanings of sadness, trouble or sky.

Possession of a scalp was symbolic of victory, and related to the ritualistic belief that the human spirit was in the human hair. Taking an enemy's scalp was part of the retaliatory aspects of battle for if the enemy were not scalped, his spirit would seek vengeance upon its slayer. Scalp dances honored successful warriors and celebrated war victories. During these dances scalps were hung from poles and carried by the warriors' mothers and sisters dressed in their very best clothing. In the dance ritual, warriors who were garbed in imitation of birds or animals imitated the sounds and movements of these creatures. Sometimes such dancers affected feathered bustles and horns. Body paint was integral to the scalp dance and black facial paint was used by all dance participants as a symbol of victory.

Some rituals were reserved to the women only. Young Sioux

maidens participated in a puberty ceremony; after her first stay in the women's retreating lodge, she was dressed in new garments and new paint was applied to her face to show that she had become a woman. Virtue among Sioux women was highly valued and every woman had the responsibility of defending herself. When she was away from the family tipi, she carried a knife in her belt for self-protection. She wore, also, a chastity belt of soft doeskin whenever she went beyond the purlieu of family authority.

Every tribe had various male organizations whose special interests related to warfare, and prowess in war was much emphasized among the Sioux. Although, individually, such societies might differ from each other in structure, each had its own symbols, initiation rituals and dances. Usually the main purpose of such a society was the waging of war upon the enemy but secondary functions could include service as tribal police and as escort guards during the great buffalo hunts.

One of the best-known soldier societies was a group called the Sioux Strong Hearts. Members of this association, to mark the bravest of their brave warriors, sometimes wore otter-skin sashes which draped over one shoulder and hung to the ground. On the battlefield a sash-wearer might pin his sash to the ground and vow never to retreat; the staked sash would not be removed no matter how fierce the battle waxed. However, should the warrior's entire lines have to retreat, his fellow warriors removed the stake from the sash to relieve him physically from the battle and symbolically from his vow. But had the warrior himself removed that stake from his sash, he would be forever disgraced in the sight of his fellow warriors.

Courtship among Siouan young people was observed in a series of fixed procedures. When a young man desired to talk to a maiden, he would meet her in front of her family's tipi. If they wanted to talk privately, he might enfold both himself and the girl in his robe. During courtship the young man paid more attention to his personal grooming, used perfumed grease, wore his finest robe, displayed his best beaded or quilled moccasins and brushed his hair. The hairbrush he used might be the rough side of a dried buffalo tongue, or porcupine bristles tied together with sinew, and all this grooming and musking was intended to enhance his male sex appeal. During the engagement and at the marriage, clothing and horses were given by the young man's family to the girl's family.

Customary burial procedure for the dead was the placing of the dead body on a scaffold or up in a tree. In preparation of the man's corpse for burial, it was customary to dress him in his finest clothing, which might include beaded-sole moccasins and eagle feathers for the hair. The body was then wrapped in a buffalo robe along with his war weapons, war paint and amulets and tied with thongs to form a large bundle which was then placed on a

scaffold. When a woman or girl died, her sewing kit and awl were included in the bundle with the body. Traditional mourning for the dead decreed that relatives slash their bodies, cut their hair and paint their faces.

When a warrior was killed in battle and on enemy ground, he should remain unburied. Later, his fellow warriors avenged his dead spirit by taking an enemy's scalp during battle to serve as a symbol of the dead warrior's spirit.

* * * *

Expressive function of clothing is the communication of a message about the wearer, such as rank, status, sex, age and occupation. Siouan social structure was built basically around the family hunting group. Although leadership might be hereditary, some headmen attained their status on their war records, successes in hunting, memberships in popular societies and powers attributed to visions. Since courage was a prime virtue in the Sioux way of life, status and social position of leadership were rewards to those who excelled in warfare. Acclaim was given to those who displayed fearlessness during battle, and the symbols of such a man's prestige and honor were the scalp shirt and eagle-feather war bonnets.

The scalp shirt was bestowed as a symbol of bravery. Its wearer accepted the scalp shirt during a special ceremony and took upon himself responsibility for leadership and good example. Such a shirt might be painted either blue and yellow, or red and green, with hair from scalps trimming the sleeves and across the shoulders. (Illustration 2) Should it happen that the shirt wearer did not continue to display courage during battle and buffalo hunts, he had to give up his shirt and the status it meant.

Bravery in the presence of the enemy was particularly honored among Siouan warriors. The measure of this honor came to be known by the French-Canadian word, *coup*. Originally awarded for striking the enemy, *coups* were later recognized in other feats of bravery and daring, but generally the system of *coup* was one of war honors, i.e. a warrior who struck or touched the enemy "counted *coup*." The enemy need not be killed since touching him and risking death could require greater risk than shooting at him from a distance. Each time a warrior "counted *coup*" he was allowed to symbolize the count by adding a feather in his headdress. A warrior's status in his group depended upon his *coup* count; those warriors who had counted many *coups* were considered to be men of great importance.

The war bonnet of the Plains Indians is his best-known headdress. It was a symbol of the many *coups* the warriors had counted and therefore of his personal merit. Should the rows of feathers attached to his headdress hang to the ground, this would indeed

symbolize the courage of a warrior brave in battle. (Illustration 3) Eagle feathers were especially prized in this headgear because of the Indian's reverence for the courage, striking power and grandeur of the eagle.

Within the system of *coups* there were various gradations of merit—for touching the enemy, for killing the enemy, for scalping the enemy and for stealing the enemy's horse. While the eagle feather was the usual appareling symbol of the *coup*, this recognition could also be made by symbolical designs painted on the body and clothing. When a warrior killed an enemy in hand-to-hand combat, he won the right to paint a red hand on his clothing or on his horse. When a warrior rescued a friend from death during battle, he won the right to paint a cross on his clothing. When the rescue was made by carrying his friend on his own horse, a double cross was used. *Coups* were heralded forth also by painted vertical stripes on the legs. If the stripes were red, the indication was that the wearer had been wounded. Red *coup* feathers recorded body wounds while notched feathers indicated a wounded horse. When the warrior counted *coups* by stealing horses from the enemy, painted horse hoofs on *coup*-feathers or leggings showed the number of stolen horses. If many horses had been stolen, the warrior indicated this heroism by wearing a small rope and moccasins attached to his belt. Honor was accorded Siouan scouts, for their expertise in finding the enemy, by a symbolic black feather torn down the center.

Some of the ornaments and clothing of a Sioux tribal member, signifying status, did not derive from acts of battle. The young single man wore a quilled band headdress to which were attached two feathers and from which horsehair hung to the middle of the back. Sometimes the designs on robes showed a status of the robe wearer; a particular robe design could show sex, age or marital status of the wearer. Young girls who had not reached maturity wore their hair braided down the back and tied with pendants. Those who had attained maturity wore their hair braided over the shoulder.

Bear claw necklaces, shell earrings for pierced ears and shell gorgets might demonstrate degrees and types of status. Sex was indicated by the arrangement of shell or bone beads in the gorget or breastplate. A man's gorget was constructed so that parallel rows of beads or shells were arranged horizontally. A woman's neckline was put together so that parallel rows of shells or beads were strung vertically. Most gorgets or breastplates were long and sometimes reached to below the waistline. (Illustration 1)

Among the Sioux the roles of men's and women's apparel were distinctive and separate. Each sex was identified with specific forms of clothing. Men wore the typical male garb and women the typical female garb, as already described.

Among the Sioux there were occasionally males who could not

compete in such activities as war and hunt, and managed to avoid these activities by adopting the role of women and wearing women's clothing. In addition, they adopted activities usual to women, such as tanning and quilling, and live in their own tipis placed near an outside edge of the camp circle. These male transvestites were not ostracized from their tribal group and were feared somewhat: since they had the bodies of men and hearts of women, they might possess supernatural powers.

Sex was indicated to some extent, too, with the type of design which decorated clothing. Both men and women wore a spider-web design on their robes but some robes had red horizontal stripes and were worn by women and children. Unmarried women's robes usually were decorated with a row of shell medallions across the bottom edge. Unmarried men's robes bore horizontal bands of quill work and four large decorative medallions.

The fashion of how a robe was to be worn was left much to individual tastes but generally the animal head was worn to the left. A woman hung her robe over both shoulders while a man arranged one end under his left arm and one side over his left shoulder. This arrangement was held in place by a belt. The right arm was free for activity.

Parallel with clothing and role, certain occupations were distinctively for either men or women, and were confined to that sex. The making of clothing, shelters and other everyday objects was assigned to women. Women tanned buffalo hides, cut, sewed and decorated clothing, prepared hides and decorated hide coverings for the movable tipis and constructed these tipis. Women also cooked and dried meats, picked wild berries, gathered roots and supplied the wood for campfires.

Another division of sex was apparent in the types of application of decorative designs. A man favored realistic design such as might tell the story of a hunt or battle and he painted his own shields and decorated his own war lances. Since the Sioux had much faith in visions and were inspired to record designs perceived during these visions, he could thenceforward feel that the vision-inspired design had supernatural powers for protection. He created his tools for the hunt, warfare and religious use, preferring to make his own bows and arrows, wooden bowls, horn spoons, spears, drums and rattles. There was a belief among the Sioux that shields and other war objects were sacred to the male and that if a woman touched one of these sacred objects, contamination occurred and efficiency of the magical powers was lost.

Occasionally, the making and decorating of an object was the joint effort of both man and woman. For example, a pipe frequently represented such a joint effort in that the man made the wooden stem and bowl and the woman decorated this stem with quillwork, or beadwork, and made and embellished a pipe bag.

Sioux women had little or no role in any display of violent

behavior, least of all in war or hunt. They did organize competitive societies and held peaceful quilling shows wherein their handicrafts vied for honors. Among these crafts, quilling had more prestige since it required finger dexterity whereas tanning required only strength and stamina. Porcupine quills used in this craft were trimmed and dyed with vegetable dyes.

Porcupine-quill embroidery had long been a feminine craft among the Cheyenne and Arapaho. But the more northerly tribes particularly excelled in this craft. After the men had killed the animals, the quills had to be removed immediately and were sorted by size and stored in bladder bags. Longer quills might be used in the decoration of cases or bags. The quills were softened, sometimes in the mouth or in a soakbath, and were then flattened with a bone instrument. An awl was used to perforate the hides. Among the Plains Indians a technique of parallel threads was used which held the quills in rigid, straight bands. In the beadwork of a later day, either a lazy-stitch, in which beads were strung on threads, or an overlay-stitch, which secured the beads tightly to the surface in a smooth, even pattern was customary.

Increased demands by the white man for animal skins in their trading with the Sioux increased the work of women in their preparation and dressing of buffalo, deer and elk skins. Trade with the white man deeply affected native Siouan costuming. New dyes were introduced and were used in quill dyeing, but from those first seasons of contact quills were more and more to be replaced by glass beads. Geometric patterns continued in beadwork, as these patterns had been used with quills: triangles, circles and squares arranged in various designs.

Quillwork, and the beadwork done later, remains today some of the most characteristic of Siouan decoration. Bands of quillwork were applied to men's shirts and leggings in removable strips. Both quillwork and beadwork decorated handles of war weapons, leather bags, baby carriers, cradles, robes, headdresses, leggings, moccasins, dresses and storage bags. Paint appears in combination with quills or beads on the same robes, clothing and accessories.

A woman artisan might create her own designs and use the same design on many objects. Certain women became identified with certain designs which might be inherited from one generation to another in the same family. Just as boys were taught by the fathers to make and use war weapons, girls were taught by their mothers to quill and to bead. It was a cultural career and girls who were adept at quillwork or beadwork and could tan hides were regarded as potentially good wives.

Within the two general classes of instrumental and expressive functions are to be found, then, all the accouterment of the Sioux we can denote by the word clothing, and the related equipment, as tipis and incidental accessories. As with the Cheyennes, other Plains Indians, or indeed with many primitive cultures, these two

functions are openly evident and are the only two of any importance. Instrumental and expressive, then, are terms which exactly typify the clothing in Siouan culture.

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Wyoming and the Shaping of a Presidential Adviser

By

WILLIAM W. SAVAGE, JR.

The efforts of agricultural reformers during the Progressive Era to promote rejuvenation of the intellectual, social, and economic life of the American farmer contributed to President Theodore Roosevelt's appointment in August, 1908, of a Commission on Country Life. The commission, which counted among its members such prominent figures as Liberty Hyde Bailey, Gifford Pinchot, and Walter Hines Page, sought to assess living conditions in rural America. Although it enjoyed no Congressional support and survived only a few months, it collected much information and issued a report that had considerable influence on subsequent agricultural policy. Roosevelt believed that the commission "did work of capital importance," and Pinchot termed it "the first effective step ever taken" toward the solution of America's rural problems.¹ In the planning for the commission and the work it would do, the influence of one man loomed large. He was Roosevelt's friend and adviser, Sir Horace Curzon Plunkett, an Irishman who from 1879 to 1889 was a rancher in the Powder River district of Johnson County, Wyoming Territory.²

Although Plunkett left Wyoming partially because of his growing involvement in the Irish cooperative movement, and while much of his advice to Roosevelt was based upon his experience in Irish agriculture, it is clear that the years spent in Wyoming provided the foundation for his friendship with the President and influenced his views on what he later called the "rural life problem" of the

1. Theodore Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography*, vol. XX of *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, National Edition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), 405; Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947), 343. See also Clayton S. Ellsworth, "Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission," *Agricultural History*, XXXIV (October, 1960), 155-172, and William L. Bowers, "Country-Life Reform, 1900-1920: A Neglected Aspect of Progressive Era History," *ibid.*, XLV (July, 1971), 211-21. The commission is viewed in the broad context of Roosevelt's conservation program in Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and The Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 134-135, 144.

2. Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, 404; Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, 340.

United States. "Without this ranching experience," one historian has noted, "which included annual financial deficits, round-ups, and sleeping three in a bed with snoring cowboys, Plunkett would never have appealed much to Roosevelt."³ Whether Plunkett's years as a rancher counted more with Roosevelt than the quality of his advice perhaps remains to be seen, but there is no question that Roosevelt liked and respected the Irishman and greatly valued his counsel.⁴ For both men, certainly, the West was common ground.

Roosevelt ranched for several years on the Little Missouri River in Dakota Territory. He published voluminous observations on western life in the 1880s and thus provided material for innumerable essays by historians bent on re-hashing everything that he wrote. There is a wealth of evidence pointing to the impact of Roosevelt's western experience on his subsequent political career and the development of many of his attitudes.⁵ But what of Plunkett? How did the West affect him, and what bases, besides common experiences, did it provide for his friendship with Roosevelt? The questions are worth answering, simply because of Plunkett's role in the formulation of American domestic policies in the early years of the 20th century.

Horace Plunkett published no western memoir, but he kept a careful account of his Wyoming activities in his diary, a virtually untapped source for the social and economic history of Wyoming and the high plains during the peak years of the beef bonanza. In this record may be found his views of American society in general and western life in particular and intimations of the social forces that influenced him. It suggests the sources of what Plunkett's biographer, Margaret Digby, has called his understanding "of the vast sprawling energy, the idealism and commercialism, the crudity and generosity of a country which, before he died, was

3. Ellsworth, "Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission," 156.

4. See Theodore Roosevelt to William Howard Taft, December 21, 1908, in Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Vol. VI (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 1433.

5. Roosevelt's observations are conveniently contained in Theodore Roosevelt, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman and Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*, both Vol. I of *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, National Edition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), and both of which have appeared in several editions. Representative of the secondary material on Roosevelt the rancher are Albert T. Volwiler, "Roosevelt's Ranch Life in North Dakota," *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*, IX (October, 1918), 31-49; Ray H. Mattison, "Roosevelt's Dakota Ranches," *North Dakota History*, XXII (October, 1955), 147-161; Gerry Nelson, "Roosevelt's Ranch Life in the Badlands," *North Dakota History*, XXIV (October, 1957), 171-174; and Edward and Frederick Schapsmeier, "Theodore Roosevelt's Cowboy Years," *Journal of the West*, V (July, 1966), 398-408. See also Russel B. Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics: A Historical Study of Its Origins and Development, 1870-1958* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1959), 224-225, 228.

to play a part of unimagined importance in the affairs of England, Ireland and the world."⁶

Frederick Jackson Turner, in his famous essay, identified the frontier as "the line of most rapid and effective Americanization," and he counted among the intellectual traits that the frontier bestowed upon its white inhabitants those of strength, acuteness, inquisitiveness, inventiveness, materialism, individualism, energy, and exuberance.⁷ During his years in Wyoming, Plunkett reflected all of those traits and was, as both his diary and his biographer suggest, effectively "Americanized," matters of nationality and domicile to the contrary notwithstanding. The West, or his recollection of it, had an enormous impact on Plunkett, measurable even when, in the presence of civilization in the east or in Europe, he seemed to remain aloof from his experience there.

Plunkett emigrated to the United States from necessity—he had tuberculosis and was told to recuperate in elevations higher and drier than those afforded by England or his native Ireland—and with some reluctance. He apparently expected the worst from Americans, and if his diary is correct, that expectation was fully satisfied. Once, upon returning from a holiday in Ireland in 1881—the first year for which a complete record of his activities survives—he was cheated out of \$21 by New York customs officials because, he said, he refused to bribe them to hasten his entry into the country. A week later, he found himself in an Omaha hotel, surrounded by a group of "unpleasant" people, most of whom appear to have been dry-goods drummers heading west.⁸ Other diary entries Plunkett made during 1881 are typical of complaints that became increasingly frequent: newspaper reporters hounded him (even at that late date Britons were celebrities) and distorted his remarks; lawyers representing one of his Wyoming cattle companies in a range dispute were incompetent bunglers; cowboys were frequently filthy and usually crude; and Americans were generally clannish and disliked Britons.⁹

The country as a whole seemed little more than a frontier to Plunkett, and he leveled criticism at his surroundings as readily as he did the people in them. The odor of the stockyards spoiled Chicago for him, and while he breathed more easily in Wyoming,

6. Margaret Digby, *Horace Plunkett, An Anglo-American Irishman* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949), 38.

7. Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893*, 201, 226-227.

8. Diaries of Sir Horace Plunkett, 1881-1931. Microfilm copies in the McKissick Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia. May 7 and 15, 1881.

9. *Ibid.*, May 16, 19, 20, 21, and 25, July 2 and 21, and November 22, 1881.

the environment harbored other hazards to health and peace of mind. His lungs benefited from the fresh western air, but food and water very nearly ruined him. A visit to Ogallala in 1881 resulted in a debilitating three-week bout with diarrhea, and three more years of similar occurrences did nothing to help his general condition.¹⁰ In 1884 the 30-year-old Irishman weighed only 132 pounds, far below his normal weight, and that is perhaps the most striking indication of the toll that had been taken of his health.¹¹ Yet he endured. He was nervous and excitable, and doctors repeatedly told him that rest was essential.¹² But rest was not an easy thing for Plunkett to find in Wyoming during the 1880s.

Plunkett was involved in several cattle-raising operations in Wyoming, and not the least of these was the EK Ranch, which he owned in partnership with E. B. R. Boughton and Alexis and Edmund Roche.¹³ Because of his health, the Irishman tried to restrict his activities on the ranch, leaving most of the physical labor to his partners. He performed instead the menial tasks, which quickly proved to be physical enough. Plunkett churned butter, cooked, chopped wood, fed chickens, and milked the EK's four dairy cows. In addition, he had to contend with two young elk, acquired by the partners as pets, and an orphaned foal that had not been weaned. The work was heavy, interrupted only by Plunkett's efforts to set ranch accounts in order, a tiresome chore terminated at last by his discovery and mastery of the double-entry system of bookkeeping. In all, ranch life served as a potent corrective to his aristocratic notion that Sunday was always a day of rest.¹⁴

Ranch routine was broken by the annual round-up, conducted under the auspices of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association. Plunkett could tolerate the roundup and subsequent "hair, dust, and corruption" of branding as long as the weather remained pleasant, but his experience in 1883 revealed that one of these events was not necessarily like another. In that year, Plunkett got a late start and had to obtain the services of a guide to locate the main party of stockmen working the roundup in his district. At Nowood Creek, the Irishman's horse refused to swim, rolled over in midstream, and drowned. While the guide retrieved his saddle and personal property, Plunkett swam ashore on the wrong

10. *Ibid.*, July 20 and August 1, 1881.

11. *Ibid.*, August 7, 1884.

12. *Ibid.*, September 14, 1881, and August 19, 1885.

13. For an account of Plunkett's business activities in Wyoming, see William W. Savage, Jr., "Plunkett of the EK: Irish Notes on the Wyoming Cattle Industry in the 1880's," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 43, No. 2, 205-214.

14. Diary, June 5, 10, 11, and 15, July 31, and August 26, 1881.

side of the creek and had to swim back. He tracked the round-up on foot and found it seven days after leaving the ranch.¹⁵

Visits to Cheyenne provided welcome relief from that sort of thing, and the city's attractions stood in vivid contrast to the rigors of ranch life. In Cheyenne, Plunkett discovered, one might play lawn tennis before breakfast and by evening become involved in a debate, not about cattle, but over the relative merits of agnosticism and Roman Catholicism.¹⁶ To enjoy these pastimes, however, one had to tolerate the foibles of one's fellow man. Plunkett noted that the pleasanter aspects of life in Cheyenne vanished when the city's besotted citizenry chose, as he claimed it did in 1882, to sell its votes on election day to the highest bidder.¹⁷ Even the famed Cheyenne Club, despite its strictures against drunkenness, experienced its less austere moments, and Plunkett, ever the man of moderation, was there to record them. In 1884 he described a dinner given by the club's American members for their British counterparts. It proved to be a fiasco because many of the hosts were inebriated to the point of incapacitation before the affair began.¹⁸

More than once, Plunkett detected antagonism on the part of Wyoming cattlemen directed toward Britons. But ethnocentrism was not one of Plunkett's characteristics, and he did not respond by adopting the British cause. Often, Britons visited the EK Ranch, and the Irishman at first welcomed them, thankful for the company in the relative solitude of Powder River. Later, however, he changed his mind. Visitors were slow to leave and thus became a financial burden. They interrupted business generally, and Plunkett believed that they made their hosts unpopular with Wyomingites by refusing to adapt to western customs.¹⁹ Occasionally they became too much to bear. In October, 1881, for example, Plunkett was forced to seek refuge in the Cheyenne Club when 17 guests ensconced at the EK remained underfoot to prevent him from doing any work.²⁰

Eventually, the West eroded some of Plunkett's aristocratic veneer. Despite his initial willingness to criticize the shortcomings of others, he spent a great deal of time and energy assisting his neighbors in business matters, advising them and providing financial backing that was often unavailable from other sources. His kindness and generosity came to be universally acknowledged.²¹ Yet Plunkett was a shrewd businessman, and so were the men he

15. *Ibid.*, June 12, 1883.

16. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1881, and July 15, 1884.

17. *Ibid.*, November 7, 1882.

18. *Ibid.*, October 14, 1884.

19. *Ibid.*, October 11, 1881.

20. *Ibid.*, October 23, 1881.

21. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1883, and November 2, 1887.

most admired. Typical of these was Joseph M. Carey, succinctly described by John Clay as a "judge, governor, senator, ranchman, capitalist, a man who . . . devoted much of his life to public work."²² He was a partner, with Plunkett and several other cattlemen, in the Wyoming Development Company, a syndicate formed to assist the improvement of agriculture in the territory by irrigating several thousand acres of potential farmland. Carey impressed Plunkett with three things: his money, his home, and his wife—in that order.²³

Plunkett's assessment of Carey and the scale of values it reveals are perhaps not surprising in view of Wyoming's opportunity-oriented business environment in the 1880s, but they do serve to underscore what came to be, for Plunkett, a rule of thumb about social stratification in the American West. In Wyoming, the Irishman noted, professional people were distinctly inferior to non-professionals. He attributed the situation to the fact that the region's material advantages afforded greater opportunity to speculators and investors than to those who worked for wages.²⁴

Comparisons between Plunkett's experiences in the West and those of the man he would later advise in Washington are easily made. Both Roosevelt and Plunkett were physically weak men, and their years on the range strengthened them. Plunkett came to the vigorous life in a roundabout fashion, to be sure, but he always acknowledged that the decade he spent in Wyoming provided the basis for his good health in later years. Indeed, the once tubercular Irishman lived to be 78, and, as an index of his activity, it may be said that he became an accomplished airplane pilot only a few years before his death.²⁵

Both men shared the cowboy life—Plunkett was more the entrepreneur—and both were impressed by the western environment, the majesty of the land. Like Roosevelt, Plunkett objected to the sight of nature despoiled.²⁶ And like Roosevelt, he recognized what Anglo-American civilization had done to the Indian, although his response to Indians was far more patronizing than Roosevelt's.²⁷ In short, both men could feel that they had been a part of

22. John Clay, *My Life on the Range* (New ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 71.

23. Diary, May 10 and October 2, 1883, and October 16, 1884.

24. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1885.

25. *New York Times*, March 27, 1932, II, 5; *The Times* (London), March 28, 1932, 12.

26. Diary, June 22, 1881.

27. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1881, and June 28, 1885. Roosevelt's attitudes are summarized in *The Winning of the West*, I, Volume VIII of *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, National Edition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), 79-82.

something grand, something to which many would wish to return, amid the growing complexities of the 20th century.

If comparisons are easily made, so, then, are contrasts. Roosevelt was more the egalitarian, or pretended to be. In terms of his antecedents and the preconceptions with which he confronted the West, Plunkett was Americanized but retained some of that aristocratic veneer.²⁸ In actuality, the gulf between the men in this regard was greater than it seemed, and the fact that it did not impede their friendship owed much to Plunkett's romanticizing about his western experience.

Writing in 1910, for example, Plunkett referred to his memories of a "characteristically American hospitality," but he noted little of it in his diary during the 1880s.²⁹ He indicated personal knowledge of "the Supreme Court of Judge Lynch," but the diary reveals that incidents of violence in Plunkett's Wyoming were rare indeed.³⁰ He claimed that the West had "no politics and no politicians," but the diary clearly contradicts him.³¹ Accustomed to more than Wyoming had to offer in the 1880s, but unfamiliar with less, Plunkett perceived of the frontier as something other than what it was. For him, the Powder River was as Turner's "meeting point between savagery and civilization," a frontier area wherein one's property might be purloined by passing Arapahoes, where work was a dawn to dark proposition, where association with others similarly situated was a necessary, desirable, and safe thing.³² Twenty years later, Plunkett had forgotten that Cheyenne,

28. He could never, for example, get along with cowboys, no matter how often he ate, slept, and worked with them. He often acknowledged his inability to understand them. Diary, May 27, 1883, and August 5, 1884. Helena Huntington Smith, *The War on Powder River* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), 101-102, and Harry Sinclair Drago, *The Great Range Wars: Violence on the Grasslands* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1970), 254, make much of this point, but for the wrong reasons. Plunkett's inability to comprehend the cowboy psyche had no effect on his dealings with cowboys. Matters of wages, free board at ranches, and the like occupied Plunkett on an entirely different level. See Savage, "Plunkett of the EK," 210-212.

29. Sir Horace Plunkett, *The Rural Life Problem of the United States: Notes of an Irish Observer* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), 153.

30. *Ibid.*, 110. The only diary entry even remotely suggesting violence concerned the discovery of an unidentified corpse on the north bank of the Powder River near the EK in the summer of 1884. The man, dead for four or five days, had been shot, dragged by the heels for approximately 50 yards, and dropped into a gulch. An inquest in Buffalo accomplished nothing of substance but produced four popular theories about the man's identity: he was either a range detective, a horse thief, the victim of an Indian attack, or he had been murdered by his partner because the two had only one horse between them. Diary, June 20, 1884.

31. Plunkett, *Rural Life Problem*, 110.

32. *Ibid.*, 109-10; Turner, *op. cit.*, 200.

a metropolis with electric lights and telephones, was all the while close at hand.³³ He had forgotten, too, the unpleasantness of those years. His frontier was psychological, not geographical, and he was thus able to refine and elaborate upon his memory of it. And as his westering experience became more remote in time, his recollections became more glorious. Consequently, the aristocrat became submerged beneath the pioneer and the romantic.³⁴

For these reasons, Plunkett appealed to Theodore Roosevelt, and the two men became friends. The circumstances are significant because of the Irishman's role as the President's trusted adviser, but beyond that, they are important because they reflect the impact of the West on one man's thinking. Turner suggested that the physical frontier was "at first too strong" for the individual.³⁵ Plunkett's example suggests that the frontier is a state of mind that may never be entirely overcome.

33. Francis E. Warren, "Report of the Governor of Wyoming," *Report of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1886), II, 1036.

34. In 1910 Plunkett identified himself as having been a participant in the "frontier-pioneer stage" of western development. The diary entry for May 18, 1881, suggests that Plunkett preferred ranching to farming because it was more "romantic." The drudgery of ranch life he described in later years as "exciting." Plunkett, *Rural Life Problem*, 110.

35. Turner, *op. cit.*, 201.

Fifth Segment of the Oregon Trail

GREEN RIVER TO COKEVILLE

Trek No. 24 of the Historical Trail Treks

Sponsored by the Wyoming State Historical Society, the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, the Sweetwater County Chapter and the Lincoln County Chapter. The trek was under the direction of Maurine Carley and Henry Jensen from the State Historical Society and Tom Shaffer from the Wyoming Recreation Committee.

OFFICERS

Captains: Wyoming Highway Patrolmen, Captain
Leonard Wold, Loy Arnoldi
Wagon Boss: Gordon Wilson
Announcer: Milt Binger
Guides: Henry Chadey, Chester Buck, Jacob Antilla
Historian: Maurine Carley
Registrars: Jane Houston, Meda Walker
Tickets: Roz Bealey
Photographer: Henry Chadey

SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1973

7:30 P.M. The Sweetwater County Chapter was the host in the new Rock Springs High School for approximately 100 people who had gathered to take part in the historical trek. After the group had viewed a collection of fine paintings, Henry Jensen presented a slide program of historic spots between South Pass and the Green River. Cookies, coffee and punch were served by the local chapter. Officers for the trek were introduced.

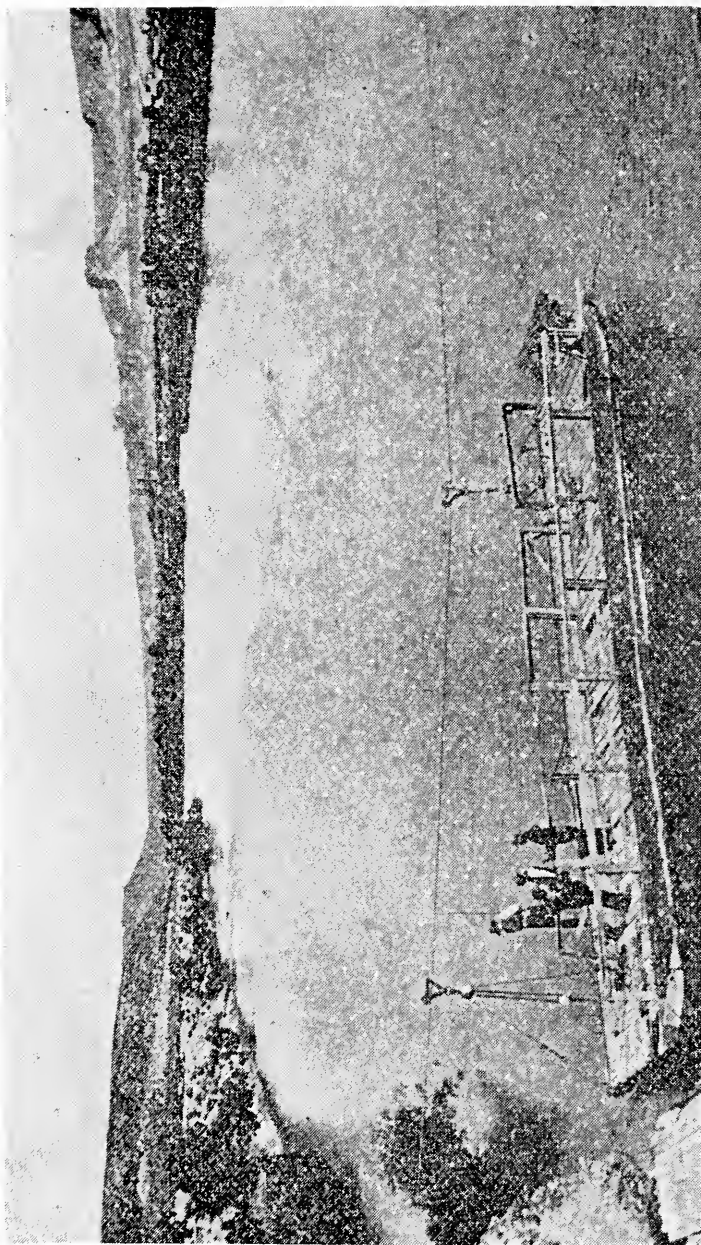
SUNDAY, JULY 15, 1973

Caravan: 120 people, 32 cars

7:30 A.M. The trekkers congregated at the Holiday Inn sign on the western edge of Rock Springs.

GUIDES: Henry Chadey, Tom Shaffer

7:30 A.M. Since it was sprinkling, the photographer eliminated picture taking, and we left immediately on Interstate 80 which



Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department

GREEN RIVER CROSSING

The site of this crossing was on the route of the 1973 Oregon Trail Trek

closely follows the Overland Stage route. Rock Springs once was a stage station on this route.

Many interesting formations were seen between Rock Springs and Green River. Pulpit Rock loomed ahead on the left, Castle Rock, first photographed by William H. Jackson, was seen above the twin tunnels. Immediately after the tunnels the Sugar Bowl and Cream Pitcher were identified, as well as the Palisades, a long row of high bluffs on the right.

It was from Green River that John Wesley Powell began his exploring expedition down the Colorado River in 1869, from the point now known as Expedition Island, a National Historic Landmark. Also located at Green River was a stage station and a ferry.

We soon crossed the Green River which was a stream well known to the fur trappers. Eight of the 16 rendezvous were held along its banks or its branches from 1825 to 1840. Four miles farther we turned right on the LaBarge road. This part of Wyoming might appear to be utterly worthless but there are valuable trona deposits under the surface. The plant on the right is owned by the Stauffer Chemical Company and is one of the largest producers of soda ash in the world.

In the distance Pilot Butte was seen on the right horizon. The Oregon Trail lies about 30 miles north of the Butte. On clear days South Pass can be located at the eastern end of the beautiful snow-covered Wind River Range, approximately 70 miles to the northeast.

As we neared the Lombard Butte we crossed the Oregon Trail at a 30° angle and soon turned right toward the Green River.

8:30 A.M. We arrived at the site of the Lombard Ferry and a Pony Express station on the bank of the river. Although it was still sprinkling everyone left their cars and gathered around the speaker.

GREEN RIVER FERRIES

by Henry Chadey

(We are stopped this morning at the location of the Green River Station on the Green River. This station served as a Pony Express and Overland Freight Station. As you look on this bench area you'll see two rock piles where the beams for the ferry were set and further south are the remains of rock building foundations. The pole near the river was purportedly one of the original telegraph poles of the Creighton Line. At various times groups have explored the surface area and found military buttons, square nails and various pieces of glass which were identified from bottles of the 1850s and 1860s.)

(The Big Sandy enters the Green River below this site and any activity in this area before 1846 was in Mexican Territory.)

A short chronology of the area follows:

Jedediah Smith reached the vicinity in March, 1824, hunting for beaver.

William H. Ashley started his trip down the Green River in 1825 to establish the first Rocky Mountain Fur Rendezvous and to explore what is now the Flaming Gorge and other canyons of the Flaming Gorge Recreation Area.

In 1832, Captain Benjamin L. E. Bonneville crossed to the north with the first caravan of wagons to cross South Pass en route to the "grand encampment," and later moved north to establish his fort, which became known as "Bonneville's Folly."

In 1841 Bartleson-Bidwell company, the first important emigrant party to take the trail to California, traveled in this area.

John C. Fremont passed this way in 1843 on his expedition to map the Oregon Trail.

In 1847, the Mormons under Brigham Young crossed to the south of the mouth of Big Sandy on their way to Utah.

Howard Stansbury crossed here in 1852 on his way to survey the Salt Lake region.

Many emigrant trains crossed this area from 1829 to 1868 going to Oregon, California and Utah.

Colonel A. S. Johnston and his troops came this way in 1857 to take the new governor to Utah Territory to replace Governor Brigham Young. This was the beginning of the Mormon War. It was in this vicinity that the Mormons burned three wagon trains of supplies headed for Johnston's Army and forced him to spend the winter south of Fort Bridger at Camp Scott because the Fort had been burned.

Between April 3, 1860, and October 24, 1861, Pony Express riders stopped at the station.

(After the gold discovery in 1867 at South Pass, these fords and ferries were used by the people and freight wagons going to South Pass and vicinity from Utah and the towns of Bryan, Granger and Green River City.)

(In the 1870s and 1880s these crossings were used by cattlemen moving their cattle from Oregon country to the Wyoming ranges.)

During the era of prohibition, many stills in the cottonwoods of the Green River produced moonshine. This is a period that needs further research and documentation.

Where did the trails go and where were the ferries located? For an answer, let's look at the South Pass. From the east all the trails converged at the Pass. Once through, and we are speaking of the period 1824-1870, the trails began to fan out. This was the result of climatic conditions, amount of grass, fear of the Mormons and Indians and a tremendous wish to get to the promised land in the shortest time.

(Seventy-five percent of the crossings were made in a 30-mile section of the river) and we are now within that location.

(The names and location of some of the ferries follow: The Names Hill Crossing, five miles below LaBarge, can be seen from the highway. About four miles below, other ferries were operated and have recently been referred to as the Anderson Ranch Crossing. Three miles below was the old Mormon Ferry, utilized in the 1850s.)

(Just below the Fontenelle Reservoir on the Lincoln-Sweetwater County border was located the Case Ferry which was used by travelers going down Big Sandy and going northwesterly for 18 miles to cross at the Green River and travel westward along Slate Creek. This is in the same location as the recent Dodge Suspension Bridge which was used by ranchers and sheepmen in the 1920s and 1930s.)

(Here at the site of the Green River Station, there were various ferries including another Mormon Ferry in 1849 and one operated by non-Mormons. In 1849 when the second ferry was started, it caused the Mormons to reduce the fee from \$5.00 a wagon to \$3.00. The Lombard Ferry operated at this location or perhaps one-half mile up the river. It is my opinion that William Lombard was a late comer since his homestead was established on the river in October, 1898, and his homestead was located on the east side of the river. To the west of us is a butte named after him and the trail leading from the Green River to Granger has been designated as Lombard Road.)

(Three and one-half miles below here is located the Robinson Ferry.) Several years ago George Stephens recovered an anchor chain which was wrapped around a deadman, and a twelve-strand cable used in crossing the river was found at the site. The cable was taken by Frank B. Kistner and it was determined that the cable had been handmade from the same material as the 1861 transcontinental telegraph line.

The boat itself was recovered many years ago by a Mr. Austin, who floated it downstream and used the timbers in the construction of a barn. One side, or main timber (hand hewn) about 25 feet long, was seen by Mr. Kistner on November 29, 1969, in the manger of the Austin ranch barn in excellent condition. The other timbers have been recently removed, as some were used as up-rights, and rotted where they were in contact with the ground. The remains of these removed timbers were still nearby. The old Robinson house has burned, but the remains were on the east side of the river flat (NE bank) at the base of the first gravel terrace about 200 yards east of the ferry landing. An old road runs directly from the Emigrant Trail (SE/4, Sec. 10, T. 21 N., R. 109 W.) to the ferry landing.

The story is told that the Robinson home was attacked by Indians, and that only one girl escaped. She later found her way to a local trapper who helped her reach relatives in New Jersey. About 30 years ago she returned to Green River and related the

story to the father of a Mrs. Higginson who in turn passed it on to George Stephens.

(Below the Robinson Ferry about two miles is the Palmer Ford. It was in this area that the Brigham Young party crossed in 1847. It was also the location of the road from Bryan to the Sweetwater in the 1860s and 1870s.)

(A ferry was located at Green River City until the bridge was built in the 1890s. Two ferry crossings existed below the town of Green River. One was the Holmes Ferry and the other the Brinegar Ferry. This one ended when the waters of Flaming Gorge Reservoir rose to make the lake in the late 1960s.)

(There are many stories about the ferries and the crossings in the diaries of the emigrants. Here are three which may be of interest:

The various commercial ferries were vastly profitable, but some of the emigrants simply didn't have the cash to use them. Leander Loomis of the Birmingham (Iowa) Emigrating Company in 1850 found such a situation at the west end of the Sublette Cutoff in western Wyoming. There the Green was 330 feet wide, fairly fast and deep. The ferry operator was getting \$7 a wagon and \$1 a head for livestock. Loomis did the job himself for nothing, but he lost 12 hours of the several days he had saved by avoiding Ft. Bridger.¹

Their [the Mormons] first move against Bridger was an attempt to take over the Green River ferries, which had been owned and operated by Mountain Men for many a season past. But the Mountain Men unlimbered their guns, stood off the covetous Saints, and that season collected as usual some \$300,000 from emigrants crossing in their boats.

Indignantly, the Mormons filed suit; That was a big laugh around all the campfires in the mountains!²

In *Wyoming Cattle Trails*, John K. Rollinson quotes W. H. Harvey who was moving cattle from Ford Bridger to the Carter Ranch of the South Fork of the Stinking Water (Shoshone River):

From Granger we followed the old Overland Road. We were a day getting to Green River. We swam the saddle animals over and crossed the teams and wagon on a ferry. Peter Apple was the ferryman. I think it was about forty miles up the river from Green River City. We camped here; the next day we camped on the Big Sandy.

9:15 A.M. The rain stopped and the day turned into a typically beautiful Wyoming day. The caravan returned the short distance to the highway and drove to Fontenelle for a rest stop.

10:00 A.M. We proceeded to Highway 189 and turned north to follow along the shores of Fontenelle Reservoir. The Sublette-

1. Franzwa, Gregory M., *The Oregon Trail Revisited*, (St. Louis: Patrice Press Inc., 1972).

2. Vestal, Stanley, *Jim Bridger*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1946).

Greenwood Cut-off and another branch of the Oregon Trail once crossed the Green near here. We didn't have time to stop and read the sign by the Reservoir so here it is:

SEEDS-KEE-DEE AGIE, SPANISH RIVER, RIO VERDE,
GREEN RIVER

To the Shoshone Indian, this river was the Seeds-Kee-Dee Agie, (Prairie Chicken River). On Sept. 16, 1811 the Astorians near its headwaters termed it the Spanish River. To the Spaniards far to the South it was the Rio Verde (Green River). Jedediah Smith and his ten mountain men, making the first westward crossing of the South Pass by white men, camped near here Mar. 19, 1824 on the Seeds-Kee-Dee. They trapped the river and its forks which were named for them: LaBarge, Ham's, Black's, Smith's, Henry's, etc. These waters were considered as the greatest beaver waters ever known. The upper reaches became the center of the fur trade and Rendezvous. In 1841 the fur trade had ceased but the trappers had blazed the trail for emigrants. For forty-nine years over the Oregon and California Trails thousands of emigrants going west, crossed these waters near by. The many that drowned and died were buried along the river banks. The mountain men guided, manned the ferries and traded with the emigrants. Graves, marked and unmarked, names cut in the rocks, and wagon trails worn deep, remain with the legend and lore of a great river of the west, The Green.

Sublette County Historical Society
U. S. Bureau of Land Management

Lincoln County Board of Commissioners
U. S. Bureau of Reclamation

10:40 A.M. We arrived at Names Hill.

NAMES HILL

by

Karen Buck

There are two important trails here in the Names Hill area. In 1832, Captain B. L. E. Bonneville led a fur-trapping expedition to the Green River Valley. His trail crosses the river at or near the mouth of LaBarge Creek and travels the west bank of the Green River both north and south. Bonneville trapped on the river until 1835 and one of his main camps was on Fontenelle Creek where he built a stockade. Incidentally, his fur trapping expedition was a failure financially.

The other, in which we're most interested, is the Sublette Cut-off. Most travel on this route, between the Sandy and the Green, was at night because of the heat on the desert and the lack of water. The Sublette Cut-off was established in 1844 by Caleb Greenwood when he guided the Stevens-Townsend-Murphy party to California. The main branch of the Sublette Cut-off was about eight miles north of the Big Sandy and crossed the Green River several miles below the mouth of LaBarge Creek. About two miles south of this

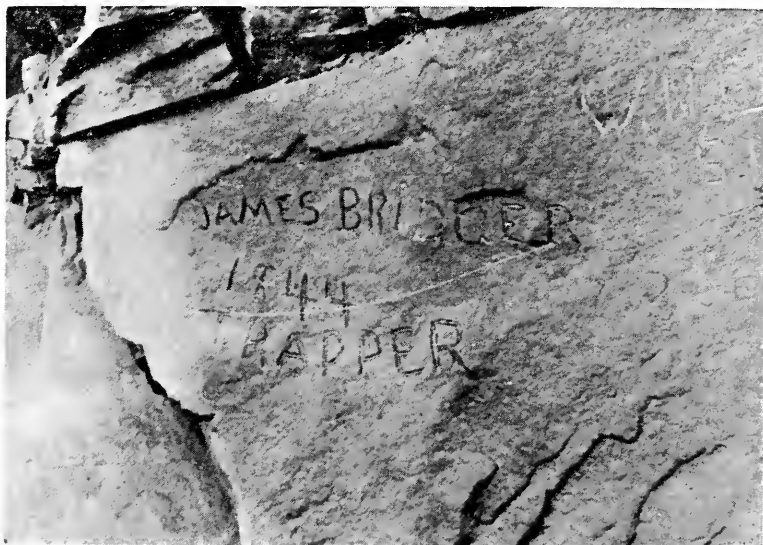
crossing was one used more by the wagon trains, known as Names Hill Crossing.

Names Hill is important as one of the best-known emigrant registers. Travelers stopped here to carve their names on the soft limestone rock. The earliest dated inscription is 1825. One of the most legible is "James Bridger—1844." The initials of J. B. are carved on several neighboring cliffs. Bridger could not write, but he could have carved his name with help, or it could have been done by someone else. Many names were destroyed when the highway was built.

Julius Luoma relates the following incidents which occurred after he moved to his ranch at Names Hill.

Many years ago a man stopped to visit with Mr. Luoma. He said that he was seven years old when he crossed the Green River with his family in a party of emigrants. At this time there were nine ferries operating on the Green River between the mouth of Stead Canyon and the Names Hill Crossing.

During the 1930s Mr. Luoma was visited by an elderly couple who were following the Sublette Cut-off and Oregon Trail with the aid of a grandfather's diary. According to the diary, the train camped on the west side of the Green River at the foot of a flat-topped mountain. This would put them in the upper end of Mr. Luoma's pasture. The grandfather decided to walk upriver from the wagon train camp. When he hadn't returned by evening, the



Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department
NAMES HILL

members of his family became concerned and organized a search party for him. He was found not far away where Indians had killed and scalped him and left him lying at the edge of the river. His body was brought back to camp and according to the diary, was taken across a slough and buried at the edge of the trees. Mr. Luoma has looked time after time for the grave, but has never been able to locate it.

Here on the cliff is carved the name NANCY. It is believed that the Nancy who carved her name here is the same Nancy Hill buried on the west side of Ham's Fork.

Somewhere in this immediate area, evidence of a massacre has been found. In an article written by Ella Holden and published in *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 5, Nos. 2/3, is a short description of what they found at this site.

On the east side of the Green River, on both sides of the mouth of Stead Canyon, are names of more passing emigrants. Several years ago we copied down some of the names and dates. Some of these are: James G. Didwam—June 2, 1853; J. F. Sandres—(Month broken off) 30th day, 1852; Throp—July 22, 1850; V. Hay—June 23, 1820; James Wm. Clover—July 19, 1849. Many names were on the ledges that have broken off and fallen into the river.

From Names Hill, the trail crosses the Muddy and goes over the hill into Fontenelle Creek. Fontenelle Creek was named for one of the early free trappers, Lucien Fontenelle. Fontenelle Creek, also called Willow and Bear Creek, was a favorite camping spot after the Green River was crossed. During the 1850-1859 conflict between the Mormons and the United States, the Mormons forced Colonel Albert S. Johnston to move some of his men and horses from Fort Bridger to Fontenelle Creek for winter forage.

The Fontenelle Creek area was never entirely deserted from the time of its discovery. When the first permanent white settlers, Justin J. Pomeroy and family, moved here in 1874, the sole occupant of the fertile valley was a trapper named John W. Smith.

In September of 1897, Thomas B. Crews, a lawyer from St. Louis, Missouri, visited the Fontenelle Valley in search of information regarding the death of Pinkney W. Sublette, early trapper and explorer. With the help of valley ranchers, Mr. Crews was able to locate the grave and a tombstone marked P.W.S.—D. 1865. He took the skeleton and tombstone back to Missouri, but the circuit court refused to accept this evidence and declared Pinkney's death as 1828. His remains were then put in the county clerk's vault. In 1935, through the efforts of Perry W. Jenkins, Pinkney's bones were brought back to Wyoming and re-buried in a grave near the monument to Father DeSmet near Daniel, overlooking the site of the Green River Rendezvous.

From Fontenelle Creek the Sublette Cut-off follows a south-westerly course to Slate Creek where it joins the Kinney Cut-off at

Slate Creek. Two main camp areas are Pine Grove and Emigrant Springs where the trail proceeds in a more westerly direction.

Here again at Emigrant Springs are names carved in the rocks: Joseph Hildt—July 4, 1852; Ike Elwood, I.O.A. August 3, 1853; T. H. West, Ohio—1859. About a mile south of Emigrant Springs are several large rocks and here we find the names of W. H. Overholt and J. C. Johnston—August 12, 1878; O. Gaylord—June 1853, J. W. Ford—June 18, 1853 and W. A. Williams—July, 1850.

After climbing Oyster Ridge, the trail drops down into Pomeroy Basin, crosses it, and climbs steeply up the side of Commissary Ridge where the trail drops down into the Ham's Fork River Valley.

11:00 A.M. From Names Hill we retraced our steps for several miles—this time watching for ruts of the old trail on our right. After rounding Round Mountain we located an Emigrants Spring to our right, in green trees below the red cliffs, high on the side of a mountain. It was at this spot during the migration days that a quartermaster army supply train, hauling supplies and food to Fort Hall, was massacred by white men dressed as Indians.

After we passed the old Willow Springs Station we dropped down into a lovely green valley to parallel Ham's Fork for several miles.

12:00 noon Everyone was hungry so we stopped at the Ham's Fork picnic grounds to eat our lunches under the big trees and listen to guitar music furnished by the Kemmerer Eagles.

GUIDES: Jacob Antilla, Chester Buck

12:50 P.M. After this friendly interlude all were ready for the mountain roads in western Wyoming. Commissary Ridge, a part of the journey dreaded by the emigrants, was pointed out on the ridge. The Dempsey Road and Sublette Cut-off lie north of that ridge and another branch of the old trail is this side of it. Seventeen years ago trek No. 7 followed the old trail. The following excerpt is from the account of that 1956 trek on these mountains. "With our practiced eyes of detecting the old trail we could see it going straight up a small mountain. Surely this was one place the pioneers were more determined than we—but no—the lead car gathering speed, bounced, lunged and hesitated but finally stopped at the top. The passengers, hanging on with both hands, were thrown from side to side as the drivers followed the dim trail through the grass past a grave on the lonely hillside. As each car made the top the trekkers jumped out to cheer the successful climb of all the other cars."

Modern cars make it impossible to closely follow the old trails today so we have to see them from a distance.

1:10 P.M. We turned right from the county road toward the lone pine on the rim of the bench overlooking Ham's Fork Valley.

STORY OF THE HAM'S FORK COUNTRY AND THE OREGON TRAIL

By Alice Antilla

We are standing on the east rim of the Ham's Fork plateau at Lone Pine. From here the north rim is approximately eight miles away. It runs west to Emigrant Springs and south where we came up to the top a few minutes ago. The first range of mountains on the east is the Absoroka or Commissary Ridge and those in the background are called the Oyster Range. The valley below us is the Ham's Fork valley, named for Zacharias Ham, a trapper—one of Ashley's lieutenants in 1824. Ham's Fork starts from a small spring 40 air miles north of Kemmerer in the Devil's Hole country and runs into Black's Fork, a principal tributary of the Green.

Two major emigrant roads crossed Ham's Fork in this vicinity. The Greenwood-Sublette Cut-off came down over Bradley Pass from the mountain to the east and passed two large springs which are referred to in many emigrant's diaries. Where it reached the floor of the valley it came directly across the meadow to the west, crossed Ham's Fork and proceeded up Quaking Aspen canyon in the mountains west of the valley. After circling around the foothills it went right up that white ridge to the top of Red Hill. The old trail is about 25 feet on the north side of the white, pointed ridge. From the top it goes directly to the west following Quaking Aspen canyon for 1½ miles with Meadow Canyon on the north.

When Meadow Canyon runs out Robinson Hollow is on the north. It is one and two-tenths miles from here to another Emigrants Springs at the head of Robinson Hollow. Many of the emigrants mentioned this spring and this grove of trees and how beautiful they were—the pines are so tall and straight. The B. L. M. has enclosed the spring and piped the water to three water tanks for cattle.

From Emigrant Springs to the Oregon Trail junction at the head of Fish Creek it is three and six-tenths miles. On the way down this mountain the wagons had to be rough-locked in order to make the steep two-mile descent. On the steepest part there are three sets of wagon tracks which are easy to see today. As the canyon narrows they come together, continue on down the south side of the canyon and follow a ridge to the bottom of Rock Creek valley where there is another nice spring.

The road continues west over the mountain and is again quite steep as it goes down into the Bear River valley where it takes a northwesterly course out at what is now the Thompson ranch on Sublette Creek.

Four miles from the top of the mountain on the south side of the road is a grave marked: Alfred Corum, died July 4, 1849. The following article was taken from the *Kemmerer Gazette*, April 30, 1937.

DEATH OF CORUM ON HAMSFORK COMES TO LIGHT

Julius Luoma of this city, intensely interested in pioneer events, especially in regards the old Oregon Trail, recently received a letter from Emil Kopac of Oshkosh, Nebraska, who has given a great deal of his time toward research, giving a part of a diary written by one who had traversed that trail. It is interesting in that it recounts the death of one who is buried near the old trail on the Dempsey rim north of Kemmerer. This Corum grave is plainly marked at the present time.

Mr. Kopac says: "At last the long looked for has come to light. In the journal of Bennett C. Clark of Cooper county, Missouri, whose companions consisted of the following: Beverly Lampton, John Tucker, William T. Cole, Samuel Peters, John Corum, Newton C. Peters, Jesse Newman, William Norman, Mark Cole, John N. Bibson, Alfred Corum, Andrew B. Cole, John Brown, John Hill, Thomas Craig, Lewis Hutchinson, James M. Hill, Herod Corum, Simeon Corum, James Campbell, James W. Newby, Hardise Reddick and Dr. Saul J. Tutt, who left April 10, 1849 for the California gold fields, as shown by an entry in a journal written July 2d in the *Missouri Historical Review*, October 1928, the death of Corum is related. 'Reached Smith's Fork of the Bear river after a rough days travel where we found a large number of Snake Indians encamped. (Here the writer wishes to correct an error of the diarist. This was Hamsfork as he transposed the names, calling Smith's for Hamsfork. Diarists often called Ham's Fork of Bear River instead of Green River.) Beyond the stream ascended a very long and exceedingly steep hill which led up to a high tableland on which we found a great abundance of the finest grass. Here, on account of the increased illness of Alfred Corum, who had been sick a week or ten days, we laid up a day. . . .

'July 3 - Whilst lying by some 200 wagons passed us and Alfred continued to grow worse and as there was no prospect of his living, it was deemed prudent for the wagons to start the next morning. Accordingly they left on the 4th, leaving behind the Bearbourn and a party of six men to render every service to our dying friend. As there was no wood or water near us we concluded to move him about 1½ miles where were found both. About 1 o'clock he died without a struggle and in full possession of all his faculties unto the last.

It was truly melancholy to reflect that whilst our friends at home were doubtless enjoying this great anniversary of national independence in the usual way, we were performing the last sad offices to one of our dead companions.

"July 4 - The wagons reached this day a small valley in the mountains (Rock Creek near Bear river) with abundant grass, having traveled this day about 12 miles. Road exceedingly rough.

"July 5—Struck the Bear river about 8 o'clock. Road fine. Crossed this day Ham's Fork at which we had great difficulty. The Bear river valley abounds in grass of the most superior quality. The road also down the Valley, except at the crossing of the tributary streams is very good. We traveled this day about 30 miles."

It should be realized that the trees and some of the springs have changed since this diary was written. The trees at the Emigrant

Spring back in 1934 came right to the spring, and now, half of the grove is nothing but dead logs. Many of the diaries mention the abundance of the pretty blue flax flowers on the table land. Most every year they are still beautiful.

There are five other graves near the Corum grave but they have no markers. Nancy Hill's grave is a short distance farther up on the hill on the north side of the road. Nancy Hill, according to Irene Paden's *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner*, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1945), was "a goddess of a girl, six feet tall and magnificently healthy. She was well in the morning and dead at noon. The family had to proceed immediately with the wagon train but her lover remained to mourn for two days then rode after the others. He returned three times to visit her grave in the following fifty-three years."

The Dempsey Trail, also known as the Dempsey and Hockaday road, was discovered by John Hockaday, an experienced mountaineer, in the 1850s. Robert D. Dempsey came to Wyoming as a trapper. When the fur business dropped off he became involved with the military in the Fort Bridger territory and made trips to Montana to the Bitter Root Valley to feed army horses. He also engaged in horse trading with the emigrants.

We won't be able to see this trail today but it comes out of the head of Dempsey Basin and follows down the second canyon from the one we go down, turns north up Rock Creek over the mountains even with Cokeville. This was also known as the Military Road. There is a fork about half way down the east side of the Ham's Fork valley. The south branch came down Trail Creek. This was probably used when Dempsey Creek was at high water level as Dempsey Creek is gummy red clay.

1:40 P.M. After enjoying the sight of the massive mountains and the peaceful valley below we returned to the good mountain road. Five miles farther, on the right, we could see the narrow white limestone ridge on which the Trail ascended. Indians hidden in the trees on the other side once surprised and massacred an emigrant train there.

When we reached 8000 feet elevation we passed another Emigrant Springs near a small clump of quaking aspen through which the Trail angles off to the left. The drop below into Rock Creek valley was so steep that the wagons had to be roughlocked in order to make the descent. We crossed the trail and traveled down another steep winding road in low gear among beautiful trees, white columbine, wild roses and pink geraniums.

After crossing the floor of the valley and checking the trail where the emigrants made their precarious descent we began our climb up Rock Creek Ridge, also known as Tump Range.

2:45 P.M. On top we stopped at the rim for an awe-inspiring view of the Bear River Valley far below. Here Karen Buck picked

up a perfect arrow point and Eileen Shaffer found a \$2.00 roll of 1964 Jefferson nickles bringing together the past and the present.

BEAR RIVER VALLEY IN COKEVILLE AREA

By Dorothy L. Somsen

Today we are standing on the very ground trod by thousands of people who passed this way in search of a new, more exciting way of life over 100 years ago.

Extending north and south is the wide, fertile Bear River Valley. With plenty of water, game and fish, it must have been a comforting sight to these footsore, weary travelers. Bear River is a big muddy stream. In the spring its banks flood over and a large part of the valley is covered with water. Bear River heads in the Uinta Mountains above Evanston, and empties into Great Salt Lake. The pioneer trail follows the river to McCammon, Idaho. There the river makes a horseshoe bend and flows back to the Great Salt Lake.

To the north of us we see one of the largest tributaries of the Bear River, named Smith's Fork, which heads in the Bridger National Forest, south and east of Smoot. It was named for the trapper, Jedediah Smith.

Several diaries tell of travel through this area and of passing between two large hills, one smooth and round and the other having columns of vertical rock on its face. They were without doubt speaking of our Big Hill and Rock Peak just to the north and east of Cokeville. They also speak of crossing a large stream of water here (Smith's Fork). Some forded it and others tell of a toll bridge. Smith's Fork passes between Big Hill and Rocky Peak.

Olive Somsen Sharp told me that her father, Henry J. Somsen, came to this area in 1879 as a railroad worker getting out ties for the building of the Oregon Short Line railroad. He built a home near where the present highway bridge crosses Smith's Fork and she said that her father operated a toll bridge at the crossing.

Colorful characters make colorful history. Such a one was Mother Ryan who served meals to railroad travelers when the trains to Oregon stopped here. She lived in the section house by the railroad. One day she received a message to prepare one of her famous elk steak dinners for a group of railroad officials who were en route west. It was midsummer and elk were high in the mountains and very hard to find. She asked Rocky Stoner, a local hunter who usually supplied her game, what could be done. He told her not to worry, that was no problem. Meat was supplied and Mother Ryan served her usual delicious dinner and the train moved on, but Rocky Stoner's gray mule was never seen again.

3:15 P.M. In low gear the caravan followed the guides for a steep drop of 2000 feet to the floor of the beautiful Bear River Valley.

At the foot of the mountain Charles Julian pointed out the steeper route down the mountain which the emigrants followed. We then rode on the old trail for a mile or so.

3:50 P.M. After leaving the grandeur of the mountains we passed through the Thompson ranch and returned to the highway. As we traveled south we paralleled the original Oregon Trail coming north from Fort Bridger.

4:20 P.M. A stop was made at the foot of Fossil Butte, a National Monument, where a very attractive ranger-naturalist, Beth Ulrich, told us the history of the Butte. One of the largest deposits of fossil fish in the world is located in the light-colored sandstone cliffs on both sides of the valley.

5:00 P.M. We were on our way back to Frontier and the Utah Power picnic grounds for a barbecue put on by the Kemmerer Eagles. After generous servings of beef and chicken with all the trimmings, farewells were said and Trek No. 24 came to an end after a happy, pleasant, exhilarating day in the Wyoming mountains.

Book Reviews

Our New West. Records of Travel Between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean. By Samuel Bowles. 1869. (New York: Arno Press, 1973). Reprint. 524 pp. \$24.

Miners and Travelers' Guide to Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming and Colorado. Via the Missouri and Columbia Rivers. Prepared by Captain John Mullan. 1865. (New York: Arno Press, 1973). Reprint. 153 pp. \$8.

Arno Press, under the advisory editorship of Ray A. Billington, has brought forth additional books in the Far Western Frontier series, including Mullan's *Miners and Travelers' Guide to Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado*, first published in 1865, a typical, if less sensational, immigrant's guide of that era. Mullan advised prospective travelers to eschew the Southern and Isthmus routes to the Pacific for the "new" one, a journey which would involve a land distance of only 624 miles. For those willing to take his advice, Mullan provided a detailed itinerary.

The itinerary, which begins at Walla Walla and works eastward, describes distances, availability of wood, water, and grass, and road conditions. If the immigrant has followed Captain Mullan's instructions on acquiring his outfit, hopefully paying the suggested fair prices, he should complete the journey between the navigable portions of the Missouri and Columbia rivers in about 47 days.

The remainder of the book itself includes Mullan's observations on the mountains, minerals, Roman Catholic missionaries, and Indians. All, save the latter, are lauded. Many of the same subjects, with some oratorical flourishes added, are covered anew in "The Geography, Topography, and Resources of the Northwestern Territories," an address delivered by Mullan to the American Geographical and Statistical Society of New York. A 44-page addendum, largely mining regulations and newspaper clippings of ore discoveries, completes the book.

The price of Samuel Bowles' *Our New West* is \$24. At first glance, there seems to be little justification for such an outrageous figure. The Dutch, as I recall, received a whole island for that amount. Yet, *Our New West*, except for the price, is a thoroughly delightful book, and just might be worth the cost.

Samuel Bowles traveled through the West in 1865 in a party which included Vice President Schuyler Colfax and William Bross, the lieutenant governor of Illinois. Bowles's descriptions of Western landmarks are comparable to those of Franklin Langworthy in

Scenery of the Plains, Mountains and Mines. Unlike Langworthy, however, Bowles shows an interest in people, and includes them in his writing. He divides the American Indian, for example, into "good" and "bad," according to their degrees of assimilation. The Plains Indian comes out bad, especially in connection with his attacking the good. Good or bad, however, all Indians must submit to reservation life, according to the author. Moreover, Indians must be prepared to change reservations now and again since "The earth is the Lord's; it is given by Him to the Saints for its improvement and development; and we are the Saints."

Latter Day Saints fare worse than Indians in *Our New West*. During his visits in and around Salt Lake City, Bowles was obviously fascinated by the Mormon settlements. His cultural bias against polygamy, however, would not allow him to be entirely sympathetic. He denounced polygamy as being demeaning to women, going so far as to charge that male converts had been won over by the prospects of obtaining several servants/wives. Monogamous Mormons received a better press from Bowles; polygamists invariably acquired qualifications tacked onto their virtues. Brigham Young's leadership abilities are admired, yet his household is criticized and his sermon delivered for his distinguished visitors receives an especially critical review.

Bowles departed Deseret and proceeded to California. There, he became concerned about the prejudice and hostility displayed toward the Chinese, his own prejudices being of the pacific category. The Chinese, in Bowles' view, were valuable assets as cheap labor and should be encouraged to emigrate from China by a land prepared to protect them from injustice. The author compares the Chinese to other minority groups in America, pointing out that the better sort among the Chinese could "... beat a raw Irishman in a hundred ways; but while he is constantly improving and advancing, they stand still in the old ruts." The better sort included the "Two Chinese Merchants, San Francisco," illustrated on page 395. The gentlemen pictured, however, are neither merchants nor Chinese. They are Samurai.

The number of Americans who can distinguish between Chinese merchants and Japanese warriors has hopefully increased since 1869. For those who cannot, these reprints should be read with caution. The majority of us, however ignorant we be on some of the subjects covered in these books, are not ignorant in all. Armed with the proverbial grain of salt, the reader can obtain valuable insights into 19th century American notions surrounding the Northwest, as well as enjoy them for their original purposes—the dissemination of data about a very interesting part of the world.

Oklahoma State University
Stillwater

BILL L. TURPEN

From the Missouri to the Great Salt Lake: An Account of Overland Freighting. By William E. Lass. (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1972). Illus. Maps. Appendices. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 312 pp. \$7.95.

From the Missouri to the Great Salt Lake is the third book by William Lass, whose other contributions to frontier history include *A History of Steamboating on the Upper Missouri River*, and *J. Morrow, Frontier Photographer*, which he co-authored.

Dr. Lass has been a professor of history at Mankato State College, Minnesota, for twelve years and specializes in writing the history of America's western frontier. He is a frequent contributor to historical journals and currently is writing a history of the Minnesota-Canadian boundary under a grant from the Minnesota Historical Society.

From the Missouri to the Great Salt Lake is a comprehensive work on overland freighting activities through the Platte Valley in the period 1848-1869, and its brief revival from 1876-1880 to the Black Hills. I say comprehensive because I know of no other work on this subject which treats it so thoroughly.

Lass opens his book with a descriptive chapter on "Outfitting and Operating Wagon Trains." Here he deals with technical aspects of the freighting business such as equipment, selection of animals, hitching, driving, and he describes the bullwhackers and muleskinners who were responsible for getting the freight to its destination.

The opening chapter lays a firm foundation for the subsequent chapters. It is most helpful in defining terminology for those who may not be familiar with overland freighting.

Lass' generous use of maps, illustrations and tables expands the detailed narrative and helps the reader visualize life on the trail.

Besides being thoroughly documented, the book includes in one appendix, biographical sketches of 100 important freighters and, in another, a list of 200 individual freighters or their companies. The biographies and the list will be of great interest and importance to researchers. For example, I know of one instance in which the biographical appendix helped to clarify a question concerning freighting in Wyoming.

The entire book, of course, is a significant contribution to frontier history and researchers and scholars will find it most helpful. The general reader of the history of the trans-Missouri West also will find this an interesting and rewarding volume.

Lass' book is Volume 26 in *Publications* of the Nebraska State Historical Society.

*Wyoming State Archives and
Historical Department
Cheyenne*

JOHN CORNELISON

Working the Homestake. by Joseph H. Cash. (Ames: University of Iowa Press, 1973). Index. Illus. 141 pp. \$5.95.

Working the Homestake is a brief description of workers, working conditions and plant operations of the Homestake gold mine and the town of Lead, South Dakota, where it is located. This is a story of the workers—"individually and collectively."

The Homestake is the largest, most successful and most enduring gold mine in the Western hemisphere. Technically the Homestake, like several other large gold mines, is really several mines or shafts exploiting the same lode. The original Homestake discovery was made by the two Manuel brothers, Fred and Moses, in partnership with Hank Harney and Alex Engh in the spring of 1876. After opening the mine sufficiently to expose the ore they sold their mines to a syndicate headed by Senator George Hearst in 1877-1878. Over the next few years Hearst bought up most of the mines centered on the lode and most of the land where the city of Lead is located.

From the beginning the Homestake required capital and organization plus the employment of deep shaft miners. Hearst provided the former and the Cornish miners—the "Cousin Jacks"—the latter. The Cornish were eventually joined by Irish, Slavonians, Italians, Scandinavians and smaller groups of other nationals. These were assimilated into an effective work force under nearly autonomous superintendents. Several national societies were formed and each nationality had its own settlement. Non-Europeans were nearly non-existent in the mines but did perform a variety of menial tasks in town. The town and mine were originally located on Indian territory and from the beginning the miners were dependent on their own resources and talents for protecting property and establishing law and order. This was first accomplished by miner's laws, then by a local union and finally by the Homestake Mining Company itself.

The Homestake owned nearly all the town and mining properties and the miners ran the town, but it was not entirely or necessarily a "company town" as that term generally implies. The company and the miners did provide most of their own needs—recreational facilities in the nature of a theatre, library, swimming pool, billiards room, bowling alley, card room, gymnasium, all free except the theatre; a hospital, along with an industrial health program, well advanced over any contemporaries; and a public education system which was a leader in the state. A kindergarten program was started by the women but became the primary interest of Phoebe Hearst.

The highlight of the workers' role was the lockout of 1909-1910. This resulted from an attempt of the Western Federation of Miners to establish a closed shop. In the ensuing struggle the local union

and the W.F.M. were brought to a standstill by the company. The W.F.M. made an all-out effort to organize the Homestake but failed and unionism did not come to the Homestake until 1933. Since that time workers' activities and labor activities have been quite normal. In essence the miners and the company, with rare exception, have been very good for each other.

Working the Homestake, is well, perhaps excessively, documented. The author has relied on company records and reports, bulletins, a considerable number of personal interviews, government documents, newspapers and periodicals. These give an added strength to the work. Yet, the reader is often left more with an impression or a general picture of the workers than he is with real knowledge. To appreciate the work it is necessary to be familiar with some of the other works on the Black Hills—including Greever and Parker,—and on mining in general. The book is neither a social history nor a labor history but rather an account of the general conditions in the community. It will be of most use and interest to those interested in Black Hills mining, mining in general, and those interested in urban development in the West.

*Northwest Missouri State
University
Maryville*

HARMON R. MOTHERSHEAD

Frederic Remington. An Essay and Catalogue to Accompany a Retrospective Exhibition of the Work of Frederic Remington.
By Peter H. Hassrick. (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1973). Illus. 48 pp. \$3.00.

"... the living, breathing end of three American centuries of smoke and dust and sweat. I knew the derby hat, the smoking chimneys, the cord-binder, and the thirty-day note were upon us in a resistless surge. I knew the wild riders and the vacant land were about to vanish forever, and the more I considered the subject the bigger the Forever loomed." So wrote Frederic Remington in 1905 in recalling his thoughts after his first visit to the West in 1881. He was only 19 at the time but he was to return to that rapidly changing West again and again to capture with his sketches and finished paintings aspects of what was and what had been the drama of the American West of the 19th century.

A study of the art works illustrated in this catalogue makes one both delighted and sad—delighted with what has been retained of that passing scene by Remington and others of his ilk; sad that there have been so few artists active during the past 70 years to pursue the visual recording of the continuing story of that West. True, the old West died sometime during the latter part of the last

century, as Remington and others were fully aware, but the dramatic altering of the landscape, the way of life, the changing attitudes towards the preservation of the nature and essence of mountain and plain—all combine in conjunction with and opposition to progress and growth to make for still another epic of the West. But no Remingtons have captured these changes and we are the poorer for it. Some artist should have shown us how Aspen, Vail and Jackson Hole looked before the condominiums were planted by developers across fragile hillsides for searchers after winter-summer fun and games; before miles and miles of four-lane highways made scars across the land to link sprawling urban areas with other sprawling developments or metropolitan disasters; before clear, fast running mountain streams were covered over or “improved” by having their courses altered and their banks concreted; before trailer camps replaced grassy meadows; before most wildlife and wilderness became prey to trailbikes, snowmobiles, helicopters, floatplanes and jet ports. But that was not to be. Remington died in 1909 and, as Hassrick has written: “Perhaps Remington’s demise was not as untimely as it would appear. He had reached the apex of his career and was accepted by critics, fellow painters, and the public alike . . .” Certainly Remington had done his share and the time of his concern had passed, even by the time of his death. If the chore of a continuing record was to be done, it would be done by others. But, somehow, except for fragments, the story was not kept. Photography had come to take the artist’s place—but the photographic telling of the tale is not quite the same . . . as a perusal of this catalog and of Remington’s work will attest.

This is a brief essay by Mr. Hassrick—only 41 pages plus notes and photos—but it offers a good review of Remington’s life and work. It contains some new information, especially concerning the roots of the artist’s training and inspiration. Seldom before has a writer recognized the true influences on Remington’s 20th century work. The American impressionist, J. Alden Weir, instructor and friend, and other American impressionists of the late 19th century and early 20th century, not French impressionism, touched Remington’s later style. Several of the works after 1900, some of which are illustrated, bear this out. Strangely, this fact seems to have been a secret known only by a few until now.

If one would have regrets at all about the splendid exhibition and catalogue put together by the Amon Carter Museum it would be that several extremely strong works by Remington from the famed Gilcrease Collection in Tulsa were not represented. Otherwise, this is a must for Remington fans.

*Director
University of Wyoming
Art Museum*

JAMES T. FORREST

The Mexican War: Changing Interpretations. Ed. by Odie B. Faulk and Joseph A. Stout, Jr. (Chicago: The Swallow Press, Inc., 1972). Index. Maps. 224 pp. (Paper) \$3.95.

To most Americans the Mexican War is a disgraceful episode in American history. Continually the United States has been portrayed as the aggressor—waging a vicious war against Mexico and seizing the American West as spoils of the conquest. However, today through careful research of the events leading to hostilities and a re-examination of Mexican attitudes, this interpretation is being challenged by some scholars. This book is a collection of 17 selected essays seeking to explore new information and place the Mexican War in its proper historical perspective.

Arguing that the conflict was not entirely the fault of President James K. Polk's desire for expansion, this book asserts that there are many previously ignored incidents which resulted in the two nations resorting to the final arbitrator—force. The contest between the Federalist and Centralist for control of the Mexican government, the long-standing claims controversy between America and Mexico, together with previously accepted notions such as a "Slaveocracy Conspiracy," "Manifest Destiny," and the American desire for California are examined as background for the conflict. These questions, combined with an explanation of many actual events of the war and its aftermath constitute the bulk of this book.

Peaceful attempts by America to acquire California and the previously deteriorating relations between the two contestants are examined in an attempt to portray the position of both countries immediately preceding the conflict. Anthony Butler, and his ineptness, along with Orazio de Santangelo, and his claim, are explored to determine their part in the decision to resort to force. Sectionalism and political fragmentation within the United States and the attitude of Whig abolitionists are investigated to conclude their effect on the outbreak of hostilities. Also the episode of Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones and his seizure of Monterey in 1842 is utilized to illustrate the competition of various European nations and the United States for the acquisition of territory on the Pacific coast.

The actual military campaigns of the war, and the reasons for the American victory also are examined. The superiority of American artillery is pointed out, and the hardship suffered by American troops is exposed. The involvement of Texas volunteers—Los Diablos Tejanos—and their desire for revenge for previously committed Mexican atrocities, together with the adventures of Stephen Watts Kearney and the capture of Santa Fe, New Mexico, is discussed.

The final portion of this book deals with the conclusion of the war. The "all-Mexico movement" in the United States, Nicholas P. Trist's part in the final peace treaty, and post-war efforts of

filibustering are examined. An investigation of changing interpretations of the Mexican War and differing opinions for its outbreak form the conclusion.

Offering new insight into the reasons behind the instigation of hostilities between the United States and Mexico, in conjunction with descriptions of various episodes during and after the conflict, *The Mexican War* should be of interest to the general public as well as scholars. Though not attempting to explain every aspect of the Mexican War, this book does illustrate the violent climax to the three-century old contest for control of the American West.

Oklahoma Historical Society

KENNY A. FRANKS

Adams County: The People, 1872-1972. Ed. by Dorothy Weyer Creigh. (Hastings, Nebr.: Adams County-Hastings Centennial Commission, 1971). Index. Illus. 311 pp. \$25.

Adams County: A Story of the Great Plains. By Dorothy Weyer Creigh. (Hastings, Nebr.: Adams County-Hastings Centennial Commission, 1972). Index. Illus. 1106 pp. \$25.

In *Adams County: The People, 1872-1972*, the editor and her small volunteer staff have tried to include the biographies of a cross-section of the people who made Adams County, Nebraska, what it is today. The biographies of over 1600 residents of the county appear in this well-researched volume. By no means is their story the complete history of the people of Adams County. The purpose of the book is to provide the reader with a representative cross-section of the population of the county during the past century. The variety of occupations of the Nebraskans appearing in this volume illustrates that no attempt was made to limit the list to those individuals in any specific social or economic level. This book will be welcomed as an excellent reference source by those who are interested in the lives of those who settled and developed Adams County.

Adams County: A Story of the Great Plains is the companion volume in this two-volume project undertaken by the Adams County-Hastings Centennial Commission. An even more ambitious project than the first volume, this book seems to attempt to encompass practically everything of any significance which contributed to the development of Adams County. It is not surprising that at times it is quite difficult for the reader to place everything in proper perspective.

The initial third of the book is devoted to a chronological arrangement of a pre-1870 introduction and a decade-by-decade history of Adams County since 1870. The people of Adams

County experienced in varying degrees many of the disasters and triumphs which made up the history of the past century of a county located on the Great Plains. The history of this county is an interesting microcosm of life in the whole region and it can be viewed as a valuable case study.

Gleaned from a multitude of sources, hundreds of illustrations provide an important supplement to the text. Perhaps a good introduction to the illustrative material would have been a photograph of the Indian skin painting Segesser II, now located in Lucerne, Switzerland. There is a strong possibility that this panorama of the Villasur massacre is one of the earliest attempts to depict life in the general area encompassed by this book.

Other segments of the book are devoted to such topics as the origins of the people, the city and county governments, the histories of the legal profession, schools, churches, organizations and the cultural activities of Adams County. In addition to the author, nine individuals contributed to the writing and research which made this volume possible. The incredible detail would have been virtually impossible without the dedication of Creigh and her nine collaborators. The work of the nine contributors is identified by a code or a by-line.

This book and its sister volume are valuable contributions to an understanding of the history of the Great Plains. The author and those who assisted her are to be congratulated for their successful completion of this formidable task. These books will also serve as definitive reference works on this period of the history of Adams County, Nebraska, for many generations. The fruits of the efforts of Creigh and the other members of the centennial commission will be a valuable source for scholars and all those who wish to gain an understanding of life on the Great Plains during the past century.

*Missouri Southern State College
Joplin, Missouri*

ROBERT E. SMITH

Contributors

BEN W. HOPE was born at Cody in 1912. After graduate work at the University of Iowa, first in Western History and then in Speech, he earned the M.A. in Speech at Iowa, the Ph.D. at Ohio State University, and since 1947 has taught rhetoric and argumentation at Marshall University, Huntington, West Virginia.

BARTON R. VOIGT received his M.A. in history from the University of Wyoming in June, 1973. He received his early education in Thermopolis. Voigt counts politics and participating sports among his hobbies. He and his wife and young son live in Cheyenne, where he is a research historian with the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department.

MISS LAVINA M. FRANCK is a faculty member of the School of Home Economics, University of North Carolina at Greensboro. She has previously taught at Indiana University, the University of West Virginia and the University of California at Los Angeles. She is a member of several professional groups, including the American Association of University Professors. Other publications include the book, *Textiles for Homes and People*, published in 1973 by Ginn and Co., co-authored with M. Vanderhoff and L. Campbell.

WILLIAM W. SAVAGE, JR., is assistant editor of the University of Oklahoma Press. His article, "Plunkett of the EK: Irish Notes on the Wyoming Cattle Industry in the 1880s," was published in *Annals of Wyoming* in 1971. He has also had articles published in *Journal of the West*, *Montana*, the *Magazine of Western History*, *Chronicles of Oklahoma* and *Scholarly Publishing*. His book, *The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association*, has just been published by the University of Missouri Press. Dr. Savage received the A.B. and M.A. degrees from the University of South Carolina and the Ph.D. degree from the University of Oklahoma. He has taught history at the University of South Carolina, Iowa State University and the University of Oklahoma.

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of *Annals of Wyoming*

In the interest of accuracy, clarity and biographical completeness, may I add this brief note as an addendum to the article on New Deal art in Wyoming (*Annals*, Spring, 1973), authored by Jacqueline Petravage and myself. The photographs which illustrate the piece (post office murals in Kemmerer, Powell and Riverton) enhance the text and we appreciate the extra effort taken by the *Annals* to include them. However, they were not taken by me, as one might assume from the credit lines below the pictures; the originals of these photos are in the archives of the Treasury Section of Painting and Sculpture in Washington. These prints, unearthed by co-author Petravage during research on her MA project, show the commissions at the point of their completion and were filed with the government by the artists under the terms of their contracts. Those interested in this aspect of the article will find additional pictures of the New Deal art commissions in Wyoming, in Ms. Petravage's thesis, in the Coe Library, Laramie.

A further impression I would correct here is one that might be drawn from the fact that my co-author's name appears neither in the table of contents nor in the "Contributors" section of the spring number of the *Annals*. The oversight is unfortunate because the essay was a cooperative venture; we collaborated as equals in the essential tasks of research and writing. Ms. Petravage is an able young scholar in her own right and the biographical material that should have been included in the "Contributors" section would note that she has an undergraduate degree from the University of Dayton (1970) and an M.A. in American Studies from Wyoming (1972). She held a summer internship in the National Collection of Fine Arts in Washington (1971) and while in residence for her M.A., she held a Coe Fellowship in American Studies. More recently (August, 1973) she has married into a pioneer Wyoming family; her husband is Malcolm Craig Campbell of Sheridan. She and her husband are currently pursuing further work at the University here in Laramie.

As the senior person who made arrangements for publication of the piece, I should have made doubly certain that the above facts were clearly made; I welcome this opportunity now to keep the record straight.

Sincerely,

H. R. DIETERICH
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WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

The Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department has as its function the collection and preservation of the record of the people of Wyoming. It maintains the state's historical library and research center, the Wyoming State Museum and branch museums, the Wyoming State Art Gallery and the State archives.

The aid of the citizens of Wyoming is solicited in the carrying out of its function. The Department is anxious to secure and preserve records and materials now in private hands where they cannot be long preserved. Such records and materials include:

Biographical materials of pioneers: diaries, letters, account books, autobiographical accounts.

Business records of industries of the state: livestock, mining, agriculture, railroads, manufacturers, merchants, small business establishments and of professional men such as bankers, lawyers, physicians, dentists, ministers and educators.

Private records of individual citizens, such as correspondence, manuscript materials and scrapbooks.

Records of organizations active in the religious, educational, social, economic and political life of the state, including their publications such as yearbooks and reports.

Manuscript and printed articles on towns, counties and any significant topic dealing with the history of the state.

Early newspapers, maps, pictures, pamphlets and books on western subjects.

Current publications by individuals or organizations throughout the state.

Museum materials with historical significance: early equipment, Indian artifacts, relics dealing with the activities of persons in Wyoming and with special events in the state's history.

Original art works of a western flavor including, but not limited to, etchings, paintings in all media, sculpture and other art forms.

